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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL IN CANADIAN PROTESTANTISM,
1895 - 1925:
IMPLICATIONS FOR SPORT

by

© DAVID FRANCIS HOWELL

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Social Gospel in Canadian Protestantism, 1895 - 1925: Implications for Sport submitted by David Francis Howell in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the attitude of the Canadian protestant churches towards sport during a time of intense social interest, the period of the social gospel, 1895 - 1925. The attitude of the denominations--Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian--towards sport and physical recreation was substantially influenced, it was found, by the social philosophy of the social gospel. One major result was the establishment of many sport, recreation and social programs within the church directed towards the adolescent members of society. The research problem was studied within the framework of the background history of the denominations, their understanding of the traditional place of sport in society, the ethical significance of sport and the dangers to society of over indulgence in sport and physical recreation. Special emphasis was placed on the social mission of sport and physical recreation as proclaimed by the social gospel. Finally, Sabbatarianism, the strict observance of the Sabbath, was examined within the perspective of the practical philosophy of the social gospel, the secularization of culture, and these influences on Sunday sport and recreation.

PREFACE

In 1965 Van Vliet, in his Physical Education in Canada,[1] expressed the hope that others would be encouraged by his publication so that a proper reflection of the Canadian scene in physical education, athletics and recreation would be forthcoming. Since those early years, before Canadian universities had yet graduated their first PhD in physical education, historians have chosen this field of endeavour in which to write, and a number of ideas have been shown to be important in the evolution of pastimes into modern sports and physical education.[2]

Several studies have resulted in which historical influences have been identified as important in the evolution of sport and physical education into a modern social phenomenon. Lindsay,[3] for example, has captured the vital part played by military men in this process during colonial days, and Morrow[4] has shown the continuing weight of military ideas a half-century later in the development of school physical education programs. Although stripped of its grand prestige by World War I, as Cosentino[5] observed, military service still had the power to "cleanse" professional sportsmen and so permit them to have their lost amateur status returned. The pervasive dimensions of technology as a catalyst for change is another influence cited by those seeking explanations for Canadian sport, as shown by Jobling.[6] Morrow has pointed to the contribution of a number of prominent educators, particularly the Methodist cleric, Egerton Ryerson, while Redmond has shown how ethnic Scots have contributed in the growth of pastimes to sports and games.[7] Also the notion of class has received attention especially for the colonial era and explanations for group behaviour in sport have been of recent interest to historians of sport.[8] Many of these trends were first brought to light in an elementary way through the histories of Canadian sport; many generalized studies have served a considerable import as they have given guidance to future historical studies of the determinants of sport, exercise and physical education.[9]

When a sport appeared, it soon developed a story of its own. Research cannot stop there; it must look beyond the outward form[10] of sport, if a proper reflection of Canadian sport, physical education and recreation, as Van Vliet had wished for, is to be realized.

A contemporary of Van Vliet, well known sport historian, M. L. Howell, co-authored a comprehensive volume entitled Sports and Games in Canadian Life, where they attempted to show sports and games in relation to the social history of the time.[11] As Howell and Howell put it, "sports are so close to the top in national consciousness that the churches must take cognizance of them."[12] This study will attempt to show that the protestant denominations at least were well aware of this aspect of social life (and of national consciousness) and further, that the impact of protestant religious and social thought on the evolution of games into modern sports, physical education and recreation has been formative. The attitude of the protestant denominations towards sport and physical recreation during the period of the social gospel, 1895 - 1925, was carefully examined by those socially minded churchmen seeking affirmative social action. They sought to understand the role of sport and attempted to use it within the church to assist in accomplishing their social aims. Consequently, a valuable opportunity is presented to study the development of sport during a formative period in its organizational growth. The achievement of greater understanding of the social importance of sport in modern society is this study's ultimate expectation.

The idea that sport and religion (and protestantism in particular) have interacted as social forces is by no means new. A number of such instances are found in primers of sport and physical education in western civilization, sometimes in periods highlighted by extreme points of view. For example, the ancient Greek city states celebrated impassioned festivals of the deities in dances, songs and games.[13] The Christian ascetism of the middle ages has received notable attention as an influence on sport,[14] as has seventeenth-century puritanism.[15] More recently, the growth of athleticism in England, and its subsequent export to the colonies, was nurtured in the second half of the last century by English public school clerical headmasters, labelled "muscular Christians."[16] Ontario's foremost nineteenth-century educator, Egerton Ryerson, may well have been encouraged by their ideals, accounting for the rerouting of his thinking towards the positive value of sports.[17] It has not been substantiated, however, that muscular Christianity, as suggested by Cosentino, was "very much in vogue and worthy of pursuit"[18] in the last half of the nineteenth century in Canada.

In Canada, sport historiography has not yet related developments in sport to changes in social conditions to include protestant religious attitudes towards sport in the important years at the turn of the century when commercial and professional sport was replacing games and rural pastimes. The vast majority of studies of sport have concentrated on organizational growth, thereby largely ignoring the social forces which shaped the destiny of sport. As shown by the remark concerning muscular Christianity, there is a need to establish the contribution made by the church, delimited here to the three largest protestant denominations, to the evolution of modern sports and physical education.

There are many other indications and tantalyzing suggestions encouraging further research. Howell and Howell[19] noted that the church was at the social centre of colonial life, but they supplied no details of this involvement pertaining to sports and games. Cosentino obliquely suggested, in his study of the concept of professionalism in sport in Canada, that there was a moral component to the operant social definition of amateur and professional:

> The public image projected by the athlete branded as a 'professional' was that he was a 'cheat' . . . he was also considered a person of low moral character. The term was a description of one's soul.[20]

The church contributed significantly to the development and maintenance of such popular ideas of the professional in sport.

Jones[21] found that protestant church organizations were "influential in many aspects of society" during the period 1900 - 1920, and that, in the area of sports, they supplied leadership and encouragement of physical activity and exercise. The YMCA, considered an important protestant Christian organization by Jones, was singled out as being productive in this area. He noted that the physical departments of the YMCA grew spectacularly after 1890, but credited this growth to "the increased emphasis that sport received by Canadian society during that era."[22] Of the denominations, very little was said regarding their particular involvement.

Lappage[23] observed that the influence of "religion" on sport during the 1920s and 1930s was "somewhat paradoxical." On one hand he claimed that Sabbatarianism was a negative influence of the church, while on the other, the churches "promoted a wide variety of physical activities by forming leagues," and the YMCA played a leading role in sport.[24] Lappage, however, offered little explanation for this increased pursuit of sport by the church and the YMCA[25] although he recognized that there was a de-emphasis of "religion" within YMCA programs from former levels. But about the relationship between religion and sport, no further evidence was given.

The increased interest by protestantism in forms of physical recreation was not due solely to the increased emphasis that sport received in Canadian society. In the period before the social gospel the church had resisted involvement in sport during the 1880s, although aware of its growing popularity. But with the rise of the social gospel, protestantism became more interested in the positive attributes of sport and physical recreation, which led concerned Christian reformers to use the benefits of physical recreation as a remedy for social ills. An expanding array of Christian social organizations were created whose aim was social regeneration. The role played by protestant religious thought through church social organizations including Sunday schools, social service and welfare agencies, church schools, social clubs and the YMCA in the development of modern sports and physical education has not been explored, although there are suggestions there is need of such study.

This is not a study of the "histories of sport," which usually highlights the evolution of the organization and social impact of sport. This is a study of "sport history" where the social antecedents of the rise of sport, so inextricably linked with social history itself, are to be found. Consequently, the dissertation cannot chronicle the growth of sport; in fact, it cannot even assume that sport ought to be supported as a modern arbitrator of social behaviour, social learning and social custom. Not all social engineers had sport on the drawing board as the next innovative machine for the social regeneration of society.

This study of protestantism and the rise of sport will focus on the period of the social gospel, 1895 - 1925, a period when protestantism attempted to blend its theology with social relevance by aligning itself with the cause of social welfare to seek social action. This process was becoming apparent by the middle 1890s, whereas by 1925, the eclipse of the social gospel as a deliberate rationale for social intervention was underway. But during this period, Christian awareness was stimulated by the social gospel and as a result protestantism became more involved in aspects of physical recreation.

The three major protestant churches, Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican, and their associated social and recreational organizations served as the main focus because these had the greatest social impact and their archives are most readily available to the modern researcher. Theological polity and dogma were deemed to be important only insofar as they appeared to be necessary for the study since its primary objective was the study of sport and physical education. In the same vein, not all athletic or physical education activities were investigated. Only those activities which were given prominence by the church received major attention, and then only in the context of social planning and social expectation.

Primary sources were used whenever possible including official proceedings of the denominations along with denominational periodical literature; together these best represent not only the official attitude of the church but the most popular clerical and lay expression of that attitude. Relevant Canadian books and articles and church documents from the period, 1895 - 1925, supplement primary source references. Secondary source references include church and social histories in books and periodicals which were outside the period of study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APAP	*Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*
CJRT	*Canadian Journal of Religious Thought*
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CSET	Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests (Training)
DESS	Department of Evangelism and Social Service of the Methodist Church
DTPR	Department of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church
JCCHS	*Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*
JPGCM	*Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church*
MCMC	*Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church*

CHAPTER 1

PROTESTANTISM AND THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

Introduction

The history of Christian belief in Canada has been studied by both theological and secular historians who have shown the general importance of religion in Canadian social thought. In fact, until recently, most Canadians belonged to a church, and the importance of the church in forming the pattern of life and thought is an outstanding feature of Canadian social history. As Moir observed:

> Religious affiliation overtook place of origin and even political allegiance as the primary badge of personal identity and as the chief source of social contact. Knowing what church a Canadian belonged to furnished until recently the most useful clue to where he stood in his community and where he found his friends. A Canadian belonging to no church was so rare that it was not found necessary to instruct census-takers [on] how to classify them.[1]

Protestantism set the moral tone for the protestant population of Canada.

The deep penetration of protestantism into the character of national life resulted not only from religious conviction but from a social program as well, which extended beyond explicitly religious concerns. Traditionally this was manifest through the belief in the capacity of education to encourage a moral existence: education was classed essentially as religious. In addition, the church pursued its social aims of moral guidance, character building and observance of the Sabbath where there was best access, viz., from the pulpit, at Sunday school, through numerous church and Christian social organizations in which they participated, and through denominational periodicals which comprised a significant portion of home reading.[2]

But the interest of the churches in purely social issues was a comparatively recent innovation. For example, Methodism had showed little interest in social issues in the nineteenth century, but with the rise of the social gospel in Methodism in the early twentieth century, the church became a leader in social reform. Perhaps the change can be explained as a compensation for fading evangelical fervour, but by the turn of the century, Methodists embraced the social gospel and along with Anglicans and Presbyterians, contributed to the reshaping of modern Canadian social values.[3]

The social gospel, as this movement in the direction of social consciousness is labelled, was influential in a number of spheres of social action in Canadian protestantism. The rise of the social sciences at a time when urbanization was contributing to produce an urban poor, on one hand, and an increasingly conspicuous urban rich, on the other, tended to direct the social gospel towards issues important to that idiom. The social sciences had a great deal to say about the environment and morality, and their influence is strikingly noticeable in denominational literature about the place of physical recreation in modern society.[4] Protestant social agencies were well established by World War I. Poverty, bad housing, illiteracy, juvenile delinquency, crime, prostitution and alcoholism were social problems which the social gospel addressed simultaneously through a host of committees, leagues, departments--wings of Christian organizations. The emergence of social action groups within the church was significantly supported by protestant religious zeal.[5] All denominations had their boards of Moral and Social Reform; young people's organizations were upgraded and expanded; the YMCA with its strong emphasis on physical recreation also carried the message of the social gospel. These were the vanguard organizations which sought social purity under the influence of the social gospel.

By the 1920s many such agencies, associations and the churches themselves were offering social and physical recreation programs for youth, which a broader social outlook had encouraged. Facilities which were initially developed specifically for the underprivileged gradually became standard equipment in many urban parishes. During this period there was a proliferation of church gymnasiums, swimming pools, basketball courts and dressing rooms,[6] and as Lappage concluded, the churches were contributing to the prestige of physical recreation as a modern cultural phenomenon.[7]

Although the ability of the churches to mold beliefs and actions was altered substantially with a loosening of social morals following World War I (and with it the eclipse of the social gospel soon followed), the church retained a considerable portion of its customary place at the centre of community life.[8] By contrast, there is no doubt that social behavior was more rigidly controlled by the suggestions of the churches in the earlier Victorian era, but what the church lacked in its ability to preach following the war, it gained to some degree in its ability to practice through greater involvement in physical culture, recreation and sport. Furthermore, there was a measure of acceptance of these as agents of social regeneration.

The experience of the colonial churches with any widespread sporting enterprises (other than games) was with the recreational pursuits of the upper class and particularly those of the military. Perennially, organized horseracing was a favourite target for the church, not only because of the gambling it was thought to encourage, but also for the conspicuous lack of social control often exhibited by spectators at these meetings. The early history of horseracing is replete with examples of Christian journalism defaming the sport. One such example appeared in the Christian Messenger in 1838:

> Taken in either a religious or moral view, we cannot picture ourselves a scene more humiliating and debasing than a horse race. The high and low, the vile and the vicious, the gentlemen and the blackleg, jammed together in one tumultuous, noisy crowd, roaring and quarrelling and cursing, or waiting with breathless and senseless anxiety for an event of the most trivial consequence; an event which is of no possible benefit, except to stimulate evil and unruly passions to their utmost or to transfer money from the pocket of one knave or fool or idler to another.
>
> . . . We are not among those who would set our faces against any recreation that is really innocent and lawful, but we can as little conceive how any practical benefit can arise from horseracing and gambling, as we can from dram-selling and drunkedness. To us they both appear frightfully moral evils, and utterly subversive to every law, human or divine.[9]

During colonial times, many of the protestant churches set themselves against the social practice of the community. However, as the denominations became better established and more concerned about their mission, they felt compelled to reassess their position regarding physical recreation, though of horseracing in particular, there was no change of mind. With an increasingly viable social program, the religious and moral conversion of individuals alone, as traditional protestantism had stressed, was no longer adequate to the modern social need.

The modern view of protestantism towards social problems was the product of an evolutionary trend rather than any revolutionary action. The protestant sects found that there was strength in unity, and were reinforced to pursue the creation of Canadian churches, rather than sects to represent Canadian protestantism as a social force.

Background of the Canadian Churches

During the quarter century or so before the rise of the social gospel in Canadian protestantism, 1895 - 1925, church and sect underwent a series of amalgamations. This period of active institutional consolidation was significant not only because it saw the establishment of Canadian churches, but because it encouraged a spirit of cooperation which became manifestly beneficial to the church during the later period of the social gospel itself.

Silcox, an early Canadian church historian, in viewing this latter trend recognized that the general tendency in the Canadian denominations has been in the direction of integration, despite individual differences in temperament.[10] With the exception of Baptists, his survey of the growth of Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian communions showed the reality and practical advantages of close cooperation, not only leading to denominational amalgamation but to interdenominational social programming as well. Besides providing a more effective political voice for the church, the formation of such ecumenical organizations as the Social Service Council of Canada in 1907, demonstrated the advantages of working together during periods of social progress in order to secure commonly desired social goals.

While this ability to work cooperatively proved significant, of importance too in the background of the Canadian churches is the recognition of the resiliency of historical protestantism in Canadian culture. The period of the social gospel, 1895 - 1925, was also one of wholesale secularization of Canadian life. Under pressures of urbanism and industrialization, the traditional hegemony of the church in Canadian life was severely challenged, and as a result its influence and ability to persuade were diminished. But such eminent church historians as J. W. Grant, have documented the record of its strengths. By the mid 1920s, and notwithstanding a considerable loss of innocence following World War I, the churches retained their customary place in the centre of Canadian life, "despite protests from the right and dissertions on the left."[11] In their struggle with economic and cultural problems, the Canadian churches drew from their historical tradition and on occasion broke away from it while channelling energies towards their social ambitions.

The most singular example of this spirit of cooperation came with the formation in Canada of the United Church in 1925. The realization of this unique union of Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist, unparalleled in western protestantism, culminated more than twenty years of negotiations towards unification since the ideal of union was first brought officially forward at the Winnipeg

Conference of the Methodist church in 1902.[12] But this process of union had its roots in the previous century. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Canadian denominational Methodist and Presbyterian churches themselves were created through a series of amalgamations, uniting the vast majority of adherents to these traditions.

Presbyterians were the first to seek to make their ecclesiastical jurisdictions coterminus with the boundaries of the new Dominion after Confederation in 1867. Cooperation and political union were encouraged by an increasing sense of common purpose but also by the realities of wanting to evangelize or serve the vast Canadian hinterland. The Canada Presbyterian Church was formed the year of Confederation from the union of the Free and United Presbyterian churches; by 1875 the General Synod of the Presbyterian church was established completing the merger of eight independent Presbyterian churches. In the decade before 1875 Canadian Presbyterianism was almost entirely consolidated.[13] Perhaps the dominant feature of the Presbyterian church was its conservatism, noticeable in both its church polity and social outlook. But this is not to be construed as indicating a lack of interest on the part of Presbyterians in matters such as social welfare or public affairs. As pointed out by Christie in his study of Presbyterian involvement in social reform, Presbyterians concerned themselves with social problems, although this is not always obvious in their church histories.[14] But at the turn of the century, the church would move even more convincingly towards a social Christianity inspired, as all protestant churches were, "to a more active part in social problems, by the impetus of the 'Social Gospel.'"[15]

Presbyterian conservatism was evident in its austere religious services, church architecture, and generally in its social approach to problems as demonstrated by its tenacious support of Sabbatarianism in later years. Regarding such social subjects as recreation and pleasure, the Presbyterian often "found it difficult, if not impossible, to enjoy himself wholeheartedly . . . [or to believe] that the creation and contemplation of beauty is a legitimate activity."[16] The Scottish background softened the stern Calvinist tradition of Presbyterianism, enabling Presbyterians to be receptive to reasoned arguments, and they too found themselves being lulled by the cool objectivity of the sociological approach inherent in practical Christianity. Despite their rejection of many worldly pleasures, as Grant concluded, their support for current evangelical causes could be assured.[17] They too were moved by the impetus of the social gospel into the arena of practical concern about the physical recreation of Canadians.

Within the Presbyterian church its government or polity was conservative as well. Its form of government was conciliar, meaning that it was governed not by individuals but by councils or courts, often consisting of an equal number of both ordained ministers and laymen.[18] Its conservatism was highlighted by the importance of the Presbytery and the communion in decision making in the Presbyterian church, which became an issue during negotiations for church union in 1925. Through committees, boards, etc., at all levels of organization, synod, presbytery or parish, discussion of pertinent issues to the church took place, which in turn gave official direction to the church. For example, the Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform first established in 1907 as a department under the Board of Home Missions, was responsible for directing the official attitude towards social concerns of the time--temperance, gambling, Sabbath observance, prostitution, public amusements, etc.[19] The Board of Moral and Social Reform of the Presbyterian church, even more so than similar boards in other denominations, sought to represent not only the vanguard of those within the church seeking modern options for solving the real problem of decreasing church attendance at the turn of the century, but also traditional values within the church.

The decennial census of 1891 showed the relative numerical strength of all denominations just prior to the turn of the century. Presbyterians represented 15.6% of the total population of Canada and Anglicans 13.4%. Methodists were marginally better supported at 17.5%, which together represented 46.5% of the Canadian population with 41.2% being Roman Catholic. The relative strength of this ratio did not alter substantially during the period 1891 to 1931. At that time statistics showed the United Church of Canada representing 19.4% of Canadians, Presbyterians 8.4%, Anglicans 15.8%, or collectively 43.5% as compared to Roman Catholics who totalled 39.5% of population.[20]

Methodist were the next to pursue the path of union and to form a Canadian Church. While the Presbyterian Church was completing its negotiations for the union of 1874, a major consummation was taking place to form the Methodist Church in Canada. This arrangement brought together Wesleyan conferences from various parts of Canada, as well as New Connection Methodists, in an effort to improve the ability to effectively minister to the remote, rural hinterland, a concern which the Presbyterian church also experienced.

This process of the union of Methodist churches entered its final stage by 1884. Four previously unrelated bodies remained to be joined: the 1874 Methodist Church in Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada, and the Bible Christian Church. The Methodist church which resulted from the union of these diverse Methodist churches in 1884, adopted a polity including a General Superintendency, where laymen as in the Presbyterian church were given considerable voice on its boards and committees, although there were committees limited to ordained ministry. Laity were represented on committees concerned with social problems. For example, emerging from an earlier sessional committee on sociological questions, the Methodist Department of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform was established in 1902 to give a more active voice to the church as such issues became more important with the broadening of the base of support for greater social Christianity. Reflecting changing social imperatives within Methodism, it was later renamed the Department of Evangelism and Social Service and became an important mediator of church social policy including its posture towards recreation and amusement.

Although there was much in common in church government of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, there were noticeable differences in temperament between them. For one thing, Methodists were dedicated evangelicals to a greater extent than were other denominations.[21] To historians of the church, evangelical Methodism has long been recognized as one of the "determining influences in shaping the national character of English-speaking Canada."[22] Methodism had been nurtured on successive waves of revivalist passion which influenced its temperament and theology. At the turn of the century there was a noticeable calling for, and expectation of an imminent revival, one which would aid its struggle with secular materialism. Characteristic of its evangelical tradition were camp meetings, gospel bands and fiery orations delivered by such well-known Methodist evangelists as Crossley and Hunter. Although the protestant evangelistic ideal placed much emphasis on individual conversion, there was a practical side not to be discounted. For example, the Epworth League movement founded in 1887, which was to become the basis of the youth movement within the church, grew out of the zeal of the gospel band movement and evangelism in general.[23]

"Possibly the most forceful charge leveled against the evangelicals," claimed French,

> is that the moral constraints attendant upon membership in these denominations imposed restrictions upon the development of Canadian culture. The basic intent of such regulations was to make the Christian consider the implications of his actions, and above all to focus his mind on his eternal, not his temporal destiny.[24]

The implications of such a religious state of mind implied a form of Puritanism, of the variety popularly held about late Victorian culture in Canada.[25]

However, the true evangelical was also vitally concerned with the practical world, and never content to be cloistered, preferred instead to proselytize his religion. According to French, the authentic evangelical was characterized "most invariably by his constant awareness of the presence of God in human affairs and by his belief in the reality of human evil. . . . Honesty, sincerity, sobriety, seriousness, a sense of purpose, and the acceptance of responsibility for others were the proper outer attributes of the transformed inner man."[26] Consequently, evangelical Methodists took up the cause of the social gospel with a fervour unequalled in other denominations, and the tension between traditional evangelism and practical or social Christianity would, for many Methodists touched by the social gospel, contribute to both the definition and cultural understanding of physical recreation and sport and their place in modern Canadian society.

While Presbyterians possessed a strong interest in moral philosophy, and Methodists favoured practical innovation, Anglicans stressed its classical tradition.[27] The priority of the Anglican church in Canada was established by law and it was this particular link between the church of England and the Canadian nation which influenced the perceived need for union. The Anglican church relied for a considerable period of its history on outside financial aid from England which retarded its own internal development of self-reliance. For this reason, Anglicans continued to be more highly influenced by the United Kingdom than were other denominations, although all denominations represented basically a British cultural viewpoint. Nevertheless, steps were taken in the post-Confederation era to produce a Canadian church. The first Provincial Synod was held in 1861 but not until 1893, after the establishment of the ecclesiastical province of Rupert's Land, would its General Synod represent all of Canada.[28]

The peculiar relationship between church and state influenced the social outlook of the church as well. One result of being consciously informed about current events in the United Kingdom was that the social consciousness of the Anglican church was immediately British in its orientation. The Canadian Anglican has been described as "very English, conservative and stuffy!"[29] which often accurately described the social disposition of Canadian Anglicans with their somewhat colonial approach to Canadian culture. Another result was that the traditional view of British sports and games was carried over almost intact into Canadian Anglicanism.

Definition of the Social Gospel

The literature of Canadian social history has not ignored the existence or the influence of the social gospel in the Canadian experience. The term, social gospel, has been applied by social historians of Canada to a wide range of Christian expression. Perhaps the term has been used too loosely in endeavouring to explain everything from educational change, the growth of social service and youth agencies, to political and labour protests. Richard Allen, a noted historian of the social gospel movement in Canada, in addressing a Regina Conference entitled, The Social Gospel in

Canada, in 1974, stressed the importance of coming to grips with the term, definitionally.

> It is possible to use that phrase, the Social Gospel, to refer rather broadly and vaguely to any and all efforts of Christians to express their faith in the social context, and sometimes even to encompass any movement which offers a hope of social regeneration. However, what we are here concerned with is not that broad conception of the Social Gospel, but with that movement of Christian social thought and action which arose in the last decades of the nineteenth century in the context of a society becoming increasingly collectivized under the impulses of industrialism and urbanism.[30]

In order to understand the social mechanism chosen by the church to sponsor its program for the social regeneration of Canadian society, a review of the literature of the social gospel in Canada becomes imperative.

A brief survey of the important attributes of it in the writings by Allen is a first step towards a working definition. That the term, social gospel, is not tersely defined in historiography of the social gospel in Canada is indicative of the breadth of social problems touched by it. Yet despite the tendency to apply the term loosely, the notion of it is well defined by its most prominent aspects.

"Fundamentally, the social gospel rested on the premise that Christianity was a social religion," stated Allen in Prophecy and Protest.[31] This idea served to heighten the importance of shifts towards humanism in both secular and religious society in the late nineteenth century. But "still more fundamentally," noted Allen in The Social Passion, "it represented the complex of ideas and hopes which lay at the heart of reform, and it did this regardless of whether the social gospel was specifically acknowledged or not."[32] But the term itself did not come into prominent use in Canada until after the First War.

Such tenets of social gospel thought, while expressive, are not wholly adequate to defining the term. Better understanding of it can be achieved (or at least its social relevance highlighted) by relating an understanding of its social relevance to a broader, more embracing perspective of protestantism itself. Of first importance in that regard is the evangelism of protestantism, which Allen claimed was one of the most important developments of the nineteenth century to affect the social gospel. Evangelism stressed free will, an imminent God, restrictive personal and social morality and the doctrine of personal perfection, to name some of the most potent.[33] Another prominent Canadian historian, A. R. M. Lower, gave acknowledgement to the idea as well, but in a lighter vein.

> Evangelical protestantism, far from putting a man to sleep, keeps him only too wide awake. Not only does it impose the most tremendous of all burdens on him--his own absolute responsibility for his fate, finite and infinite--but it constantly throws at him the challenge that he is his brother's keeper, and it makes him feel that the world's safety and salvation depend not on his rulers or his boss or his priest but on him.[34]

It brought to bear upon the practicing evangelical (and undoubtedly influenced the non-communicant but to a lesser degree) a feeling of responsibility for society and heightened the urge to respond accordingly or appropriately. The church intuitively understood that its efforts whether directly for the church, or some social benefit, were for the higher good of God and of the nation.

Accompanying the evangelism of protestantism was what Allen labelled the emergence of the protestant churches as a major national culture building agency.[35] The evolution of the national Presbyterian and Methodist churches was a crucial and significant step in this process, as was the establishment of the General Synod of the Anglican Church in Canada. Allen warned against over-emphasizing the national component, "so as to annex it primarily to the gospel of nationalism itself."[36] Magney, in his study of Methodist nationalism, argued that the most impressive aspect, at least for Canadian Methodism during the social gospel period, was its "overwhelming nationalistic cast;"[37] Christian nationalism received renewed attention under the aegis of the social gospel. Nationalistic rhetoric was much more than evangelical fervour. Behind the rhetoric a basic shift from individualism, which the social gospel explicitly and implicitly encouraged was taking place. The habit of expressing reform ambitions in nationalistic terms was by no means exclusive to Methodism but evident as well in the literature of the Presbyterian and Anglican churches. This peculiar adjunct of evangelical protestantism was, not surprisingly, closely linked to efforts by the church in the area of social services and in particular with the role of physical recreation. Christian nationalism was concerned for national well-being and evoked concern for the necessity of national preparedness as a Christian ideal. The social gospel served to heighten the importance of such concerns.

The collation of evangelical protestantism and the "impulses of industrialism and urbanism" merged the individualism of evangelism with concern for rising social problems, but leaving intact, more than incidentally, many of the traditional moral overtones which had been the basis of personal Christian ethics. However, the social gospel tended to undermine traditional, personal ethics as it encouraged concern for collective action, an important aspect of the definition of the social gospel. Allen supplied additional direction:

> The Social Gospel that arose in the latter years of the nineteenth century, however, developed under influences which encouraged a social concept of man [in contrast to earlier conceptions of man and society which were intensely individualistic but without the social appeal] and underlined the social dimensions of the Gospel, so that the solutions that appeared to be most useful were those which had an essentially social character.[38]

The result was the development of interest by the church in social Darwinism, popularly expressed as interest in "sociological questions," to use the vernacular of the day. Christie, in his study of Presbyterian views of public affairs and social problems, typically represented the truth of the observation by readily adopting the social gospel as meaning the amelioration of social problems.[39]

The movement away from intensely individualistic evangelical religion led the church more towards the study of social behavior, which the social gospel undoubtedly encouraged. Darwinism had a profound influence on the actions and theology of the social gospel. The most influential feature of this was its emphasis on the importance of the environment, and logically, ultimately on the environment as a factor in the formation of character, or social behavior. Adherents to this movement believed that man was influenced not solely by will, but by environment as well, an environment increasingly shaped by the new demands of industrialization and urbanization of Canada.[40] The social gospel emphasized the importance, and perhaps the necessity, of cooperation and collective action which was sharpened further by the reality of cut-throat competition evident in certain sectors of secular life. In other words, Christian ethics and natural law were comfortably compatible.[41]

This passion for the social gospel tended to lead many of its new apostles to adopt a sociological framework, encouraged by the maturity of sociology as a discipline and its application within the curriculum of protestant theological colleges. A survey of curriculum offerings in protestant colleges of higher learning bears this out. By the time the social gospel was reaching its zenith, 1914 - 1920, most church colleges were receiving a steady diet of sociology, and while in American colleges this may have had its beginnings in the nineteenth century, in Canada it was more a twentieth-century phenomenon.[42] With the growing competency of Canadian clerics in this field of study, social gospellers carried a social message from sea to sea.[43]

The popular meaning of the social gospel was thought to be readily understandable, and referred to the social aims and progress of the Christian church. The social gospel movement, then, was a social movement in which the influence of modern thinking and modern analytical methods, represented by social Darwinism and sociological enquiry, raised the general level of social consciousness to compete with the rampant individualism within the protestant tradition. The organic components of evangelism and nationalism fostered a realism about the social gospel which produced a more practical character of remedy for social ills.[44] The social gospel was a gospel of reaction to a plethora of social wrongs. In that regard the church enlisted the support of established agencies, adjusted church policy to suit contemporary conditions and as well created new agencies as far as practicable.

The Quest for Social Regeneration

The term "social regeneration" was often used in the vernacular of the period to connote the improved social status of the culture, but implicit in its meaning was the notion that it should always be accomplished not by some mechanical means, but by an improved moral outlook. Time and time again, the protestant church stressed that the fundamental tenet of the church was religion, not social work. The vision and aspiration was of the kingdom of God on earth, and this was the popular cry of the day. This idea was first articulated to a wide readership by an American theologian, Walter Rauschenbusch,[45] and was readily incorporated as part of the underlying theology of the social gospel.

But it was by no means a new or exclusively American idea. For the Methodist Department of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform, this too was the ideal of the department.

> The objective ideal of the Department of Temperance and Moral Reform is the Kingdom of God realized here and now. . . . The Department aims at certain moral reforms, not as ultimate ends, but as incidents along the way and as contributory to this great whole.[46]

Although the social gospel is not regarded by historians primarily as a theological movement, theological arguments cannot be ignored entirely in any discussion of social programs based on a social theology.[47] The many church social organizations were organized for ecclesiastical purposes and arguments for their creation and sustenance were drawn often from biblical reference. Most church associations, in addition to any social ambitions, were expected to contribute intellectually towards the better understanding of church theology through regular scriptural exercises of one sort or another.

In the quest for the Kingdom of God, for social regeneration, the church directed its attention towards the many church organizations which were a significant point of contact between church and society as a whole. Church related organizations such as Sunday schools, missionary societies, young people's societies, social welfare councils, temperance societies, and student volunteer organizations, reached out broadly to the community and, under the influence of the social gospel, were adapted as agents of the gospel in the quest for social regeneration.

Traditional church organizations generally fell into four broad categories: missionary, devotional, educational and social, with devotional and missionary interests dominating. The latter two--educational and social--became increasingly important as the church attempted to compete with social programs offered by sects or secular agencies.[48] In practice, though, the religious content was so clearly central to meetings that differences between these divisions tended to become obscure. The church sought to encompass representation from all age levels, so that at the turn of the century it was commonplace to find, for example, Sunday school classes catering not only to pre-school children but post-school adolescents and even older, mature adults. Methodists were especially keen to ensure that Bible classes reached all age levels. Bible study was a lifelong duty.

But as the new century approached, emphasis within church organizations began to change as a result of the shift of youth away from the church. Young people were seeking more social-oriented activities which the church had failed to provide, and as a result, organizations of a missionary and devotional nature declined by comparison as the church attempted to compete with the secular world. With a growing sense of alarm, reform committee members began to raise this issue of declining youth membership in the hope that a way might be found to reverse the flow. They attempted to capitalize on the increasing emphasis within the church upon social concerns generally, bringing about an even greater emphasis on youth, to the gradual neglect of adult programming. In order to regain lost loyalty to the historical church, all denominations sought to upgrade the delivery of adolescent social programming within the structure of church societies. Not all started the rebuilding process with the same advantages. Some were caught unprepared. Nevertheless, young people's societies which traditionally had received only limited attention as a means of grace, theologically or socially, became the centre of attention in the evangelical drive to arrest the debilitating trend of weakened adolescent membership.

Around this re-emphasis on youth the church also gave greatest expression for the value of physical recreation and sport, and its possible usefulness as a social tool.

Church Societies

By comparison to others, Anglicans lagged behind in the provision of organized social associations, but attempted to regain lost ground with the formation of the Anglican Young People's Association (AYPA) in 1902.[49] An adopted resolution of the Synod of Huron, 1902, proposed: "That it is desirable to promote the formation of Young People's Associations on a common basis for common ends."[50] From this resolution the guiding principles were subsequently set forth for this nascent organization. The tenor of social expectation, which such societies were ideally to possess, is shown in its quadrilateral principles: worship, work, fellowship and edification.[51] However, interpretation of this code of ethics was left to the discretion of the individual rector, and this contributed to marked differences in program quality between parishes. This aspect of polity in the Anglican church remained unchanged throughout the period. Midweek programmes were enlarged under it, but program scope generally was left to the individual rector, as was too, the interpretation of which physical activities were to be appropriately pursued.[52]

After formation of the General Synod in 1894, the basis was laid for subsequent organizational restructuring of youth-oriented agencies. A Sunday School Committee of the General Synod was formed the year the AYPA resolution was passed. By 1908 a Sunday School Commission was established by the General Synod to guide the AYPA towards maturity, reflecting further interest in young people among Anglicans. In 1918 a more powerful organizational structure, called the General Board of Religious Education (GBRE), was created by the General Synod with a mandate to oversee literary, educational and social activities in all church organizations including the AYPA.[53] Church interest in youth was further specialized in the Anglican church with formation of the Council on Young People's Work, with representation from the GBRE and the Dominion AYPA. Under this Council a more systematic program of instruction was established for Anglicans including suggested weekday programs, promotion of conferences on Boys' and Girls' Work, and training for leadership.[54]

The first organizational meeting of the Council on Young People's Work in 1919 set out at the start to establish its credibility by offering a firm policy. First, the Council's priority was to study the needs of youth, then to prepare a comprehensive program for the parish. A survey questionnaire was constructed and sent to 1400 parishes in Canada which would provide a statistical base on which the Council could then act.[55] However, the mania for sociological enquiry was somewhat less than universal in the Anglican church. Only ten percent of rectors chose to reply. Nevertheless, data gathered from the questionnaire provides a valuable record of the relative numerical strength of individual youth organizations within the church circa 1920. One hundred and forty parishes chose to respond, representing eighteen dioceses and ten thousand young people over the age of eighteen. Of the most important, numerically, were the AYPA, Bible classes, and Church of England Men's Clubs.[56] Traditionally the Brotherhood of St. Andrew had been an important, though small, elite organization, but with formation of the AYPA in 1902, membership in the Brotherhood declined in favour of the more social form of association. Extrapolated over the entire 1400 parishes, the results of this first attempt to gather social data on the activities of youth within the Anglican church indicated that Anglican youth organizations may have had a membership approaching one hundred thousand. Obviously such youth organizations were fertile ground for the church in its evangelizing efforts aimed at Canadian youth.

Traditionally Presbyterians had put their hopes for youth on the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour (YPSCE) which stressed Bible study, communion in the church, and fund raising for missionary purposes.[57] In the decades before the turn of the century, Christian Endeavour had enjoyed a modest, steady growth but with increasing competition from the many secular societies developing at this time, growth was halted and in many cases membership was in decline. The growing inability of the Christian Endeavour style of organization to attract young Presbyterian boys and men contributed in part to the dilemma facing the Presbyterian church. Some suggested that there was little that the church could do.[58] By 1898 the problem of declining membership, especially male membership, was becoming acute according to R. D. Fraser, convener of the Committee on Young People's Societies. In the Third Annual Report of the

Committee to the General Assembly, Fraser stressed that "unless some city societies solve more effectually the 'young man problem,' they [YPSCE] will soon be simply Young Women's Societies of Christian Endeavor."[59] Fraser's concerns were backed with statistical evidence showing a decline in membership and a shift of sex ratios towards females.

A period of consolidation followed which saw more emphasis being placed on religious education and social programming but not before one further effort to reassert missionary work within the young people's society. The Committee elaborated on the role it envisioned for missionary work.

> In the opinion of your Committee this work of organization should be prosecuted with greater energy. It is very desirable that Presbyterial Unions should be formed, and that these unions concentrate their energies upon some definite or specific work, such as supporting, wholly, or in part, a missionary in the home or foreign field. This would give cohesion to the Societies, direction to their aims, and stimulus to their latent energies. It would moreover, develop a spirit of denominational loyalty, and deepen their interest in the great work of the world's evangelization. It can scarcely be expected that the young people will do their best work unless there is set before them some worthy object toward the advancement of which they can bend their energies. But such an object can be found in a great missionary enterprise.[60]

Within the revised format there was a noticeable shift towards national or home missions, the forerunner of later, more concerted efforts in rural and urban sociology in Canada, but the optimism of the Committee for the revamped format was not warranted. This increased attention to missions fell short of its membership objectives.

This was the age of "societies" and Presbyterians were to be no exception to the general rule. Presbyterians had created dozens of minor associations in order to carry out the divergent tasks of the church, but with little regard to overlapping function. To address the problem of declining membership, the Committee on Young People's Societies decided first to systematize the naming of those societies which held a common purpose, either missionary, devotional, educational or social. The problem was discussed at the meeting of the 1902 General Assembly and a model constitution was designed to replace the varied societies which existed at the time. The Committee chose the name, The Presbyterian Guild, but this did not prove popular. The objective of the move was "to save our young people from loosely-organized societies, where nothing but a pleasant evening is thoughtof, and membership carries with it no sense of obligation. There can be no successful work except as responsibility is laid upon the young people, and they feel it."[61] The plan hoped to streamline such divergent organizations as Christian Endeavour, Young People's Societies and Associations, Hospital Bands, Boys' Brigades, Brotherhoods of St. Andrew and Philip, Young People's Mutual Improvement Societies, Literary Societies, and Kings Daughters and Sons.[62] The plan was not successful because this reorganization did not represent any real realignment in the thinking of the Presbyterian church, and traditional emphasis on service remained substantially unaltered. The move did not complement the widening interest of youth for social programming within the church. The more popular and acceptable generic term, Young People's Society, in the end prevailed.[63]

Continued reorganizational efforts brought further changes in the structure and function of young people's societies which seemed to be encouraging increased membership. A Special Committee on amalgamation of Committees on Sabbath Schools and Young People's Societies recommended in 1911 that a united Committee be formed to oversee the work of these two previously separate committees.[64] The Special Committee recognized that more social aspects of life needed to be a meaningful part of the church's program. The First Annual Report of the Committee on Sabbath Schools and Young People's Societies considered the imperative of changing circumstances.

> Gradually it was seen that these two sides of life, the impressional and the expressional, could not be arbitrarily separated without serious loss [of educational opportunity and youth membership], and on one hand the Sabbath School began to provide for activities as well as instruction, while on the other hand the Young People's Society was providing for instruction as well as activities.[65]

The church's understanding of the place and role of the adolescent in society was undergoing a metamorphosis. Church societies in general and Presbyterian societies in particular were in a state of transition, a transition which witnessed not only a halt in declining membership but a gradual increase in the number of church societies. This was accomplished notwithstanding a steady decline in the Christian Endeavour form of organization. Out of 1,973 societies reporting to the 1915 General Assembly, a mere 337 (a loss of 38 such societies for the year) were Christian Endeavour, per se. There was also a sharp decline in the revenues given to foreign missions. The focus of the church was being directed towards religious education at home through the provision of weekday activities.[66]

By 1914 reorganizational efforts had been rooted sufficiently that the Presbyterian Brotherhood Organization which admitted only men and boys, could begin to show new signs of life. At the beginning of the War, 228 Brotherhood organizations were operating nationwide, regulated by the Brotherhood Board of the Presbyterian Church.[67] They continued to emphasize traditional objectives such as Bible study, personal evangelism and missionary work, but also included a Boys' Work Department and an Athletics Department. The Brotherhood was further example to the church and to those who had lost faith in the importance of young people's societies, that a comprehensive attack on the problem of membership in church societies could bear fruitful advantage.

The Methodist denomination developed comparable youth associations to those in the Presbyterian and Anglican churches, and these were closely controlled by the committees of the church. Methodist societies also experienced similar trends as had those in the other denominations and the most vexing was the declining allegiance of young people to the church. At the turn of the century, Epworth League membership statistics, for instance, were showing erratic movement, and sex ratios were altering in favour of females. The church, however, due to its highly centralized form of polity, and its strong evangelical commitment, was quickly able to make concerted efforts to bring the situation in hand. Committees on young people studied the problem thoroughly and their suggested alternative programming met with reasonable success.

The Epworth League, named in honour of the birthplace of Charles and John Wesley, the "founders" of Methodism, was an integral part of the denominational organization of the church. Originally developed in the United States, the League was quickly accepted into Canadian Methodism. "The Epworth League" declared S. D. Clark, a noteworthy scholar of Canadian cultural history, "was designed to close the gap between the Sunday school and the Church as a means of checking the heavy loss of support of young people to more aggressive evangelistic religious bodies or to secular agencies."[68] The need for such societies was obvious in the hurly-burly atmosphere of Canadian city life. Clark recognized that the rapid growth of the urban community in Canada was having a deleterious effect on young people, and the church through its failure to develop recreational institutions, was losing membership to commercialized forms of recreation.[69] The needs and expectations of young people were being altered by changing cultural circumstances and in particular that of physical recreation, which Methodism had to take cognizance of, if it were to continue "shaping the national character of English speaking Canada."[70]

While the interest of the Methodist church was also in the direction of missionary work, it was deemed of vital importance that the church should give additional attention to the job of securing and retaining young men to the church. Specific methods which would accomplish this onerous task in light of declining membership were only crudely articulated at the turn of the century. There was a sense of urgency, however, and many in the church were disposed to use all methods at hand. "Where accommodation can be afforded by churches for physical, intellectual and moral culture," declared the Epworth League report for 1903, "it can be judiciously used as a ground of approach to reach young men, in conjunction with gospel preaching and faithful teaching through other agencies." Admittedly, however, the church was not interested only in membership. "The purpose should be, not so much to attract young men, as to provide under wholesome auspices the association for which they naturally and properly long, and the lack of which sends them to places of bad influence."[71] While the inclination of the church was towards improved missionary aims and goals, young people's societies were tending away from service abroad in proportion to the growing problems associated with Canadian life at home.

Under the heading of "Social Regeneration," the Eleventh General Conference noted "that social service and evangelism are inseparably interwoven with each other. Christ came to the world, not only to save individual men, but also to save the organized, corporate group life of humanity."[72] Increasingly, this new emphasis on social service and evangelism was becoming institutionalized for the promotion of child welfare, the establishment of community centres, and "many other activities for human betterment, the uplift of citizenship, the development of right relations between man and his brother and between man and his Maker."[73] Increasingly this also meant the promotion of Brotherhood evangelical organizations as recommended by the Committee on Evangelism and Social Service to the Conference, which resulted in the production of a "syllabus of work, courses of study, and in a larger measure to supervise, promote and foster the Brotherhood movement."[74] Reminiscent of the model constitution of the Presbyterian Guild, Methodist young people's societies moved to save young people from loosely organized societies, and to strengthen the sense of obligation.

This desire to better articulate the needs and responsibilities associated with a greater concern for youth, resulted in changes in the form as well as the function of church societies. Even before World War I, this process of channelling the exuberance of youth more toward social ends was underway. The Department of Temperance and Moral Reform recommended in its Twelfth Annual Report, 1914, that all Brotherhoods within the church should give "every possible emphasis in every possible way to the Declaration of Principles upon Social Questions adopted by the General Conference."[75] In fact, the rediscovery itself of the Brotherhood movement was a significant part of this process. Just as the Methodist Committee on Evangelism and Social Service had claimed that women's societies were "to a remarkable degree reaching and teaching the woman life of our churches and communities," so too the ambition was that men's organizations might reach a similar plateau, thereby helping to save the organized, corporate life of society.[76] As witnessed in other denominational societies, there was a gradual movement away from strict ecclesiastical types of youth associations within the Methodist church, and with it the hegemony of the nineteenth-century Epworth League gave way in the twentieth century to the ubiquitous young people's society. In recognition of this process by recommendation of the Eighth General

Conference in 1910, the General Board of Sunday Schools and Epworth Leagues, which had presided over the leagues since their inception, was changed in name to the General Conference Board of Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies.[77] The importance of the Board was that it had the authority to regulate the constitution of Epworth and young people's societies, and to deal with social issues of the day as they affected Methodist youth.

By 1910 the Committee on Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies had evolved a complex format to keep pace with the increasing complexity of Canadian life. The Sunday School Division was responsible for Sunday schools and provided literature, teacher training, and supervision. The Committee also had the formidable task of general oversight of all young people's societies of the church with aims similar to those in the constitutions of Epworth leagues and Young People's societies. Its executive included most of the usual officers or equivalent including General Secretary, Field Secretaries, Treasurer and the incumbent editor of Sunday school publications. The constitution also provided for a number of departments within each organization including the Department of Spiritual Work, Missionary Department, Literary and Social Department, and Citizenship Department (later changed to the Department of Social Service).[78] A review of the requirements as laid down by the Committee for the latter two departments shows the deepening concern for social questions--questions which were regularly discussed and debated formally in church societies, and read in the periodical literature of the denomination.

The prime function of the Literary and Social Department was to provide intellectual exercises and entertainment by means of lectures, debates, essays, literary programs, etc., and to promote the social interest of the association by ensuring the welcoming of strangers to the meetings, and by providing, where possible, parlours, reading rooms and "kindred facilities for social enjoyment conducive to the proper development of Christian character."[79] The Citizenship Department was constituted to provide leadership under five headings: patriotism, municipal politics, temperance and prohibition, moral reform and athletics. In particular concerning athletics, the Citizenship Department sought "to have general charge of out-door sports, gymnasium exercises, etc., when it is deemed desirable to conduct them."[80] Young people showed keen interest in such departments thereby underscoring the potential that the Committee saw for the furtherance of the Kingdom of God on earth and the potential such departments possessed in defining social regeneration. Several other organizations were affiliated with the Committee on Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies which further broadened the scope of its influence. Boy Scouts, Boys Brigades and "similar organizations for the cultivation of true manliness in boys" came under the scrutiny of the General Board as well.[81] The constitution provided furthermore for District Secretaries of the Committee on Temperance and Moral Reform, another committee which had a significant part in the social role of the church, to be ex officio members of District executives of Young People's Associations.[82]

Ecumenical Cooperation

If the social objective of the church was to save the corporate social fabric of humanity, it was logical that denominations tending towards unity of government should as a preliminary step cooperate more closely for the common resolution of social problems. The obsessive concern with youth which characterized the period of the social gospel was part of a broader church program to find greater social relevance. For the resolution of common issues such as temperance, Sabbath observance, labour ills, prostitution, education, recreation, etc., cooperative action became imperative. One result saw the establishment of a number of ecumenical boards and committees, some of which rose to national prominence, in particular the Social Service Council of Canada, and a renewed interest in established ones which might offer additional support such as the Lord's Day Alliance of Canada. Such organizations investigated all aspects of social organization though not always with the same purposes in mind. On the issue of physical recreation and the provision of kindergartens and playgrounds for children a consensus might be reached; on the issue of the value of sport and organized activities there was often open disagreement.

These two ecumenical organizations, the Social Service Council and the Lord's Day Alliance, are an interesting study in contrast. The Social Service Council of Canada examined social issues including physical recreation, using a sociological method of inquiry, and at its best represented the liberal theology of denominationalism. The Lord's Day Alliance, with its stricter interpretation of the use of physical recreation on the Sabbath, represented a more staid, traditional view of social progress. The Alliance was particularly popular among Presbyterians who forged the Alliance from the Presbyterian General Assembly Conference of 1888 which was also attended by delegates from both the Methodist Conference and the Anglican Synod of Toronto. On March 21, 1889 its Canadian constitution was formally adopted.[83] Its first field secretary, the stalwart Sabbatarian crusader, Rev. J. G. Shearer, became its most important spokesman, proselytizing the Alliance point of view regularly through its official organ, the Lord's Day Advocate.

Rev. Shearer was a dynamic personality and largely through his personal efforts, a federation of religious denominational departments was achieved which eventually became the Social Service Council of Canada. In 1907 the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada was established to channel protestant interest in monitoring the social progress of the nation and to further suggest corrective action where applicable, which most often came in the guise of legislative action. All denominations contributed staff to the organization though this national body did not supersede the denominational departments of moral reform but provided only a complementary forum for protestant social thinking. Individual departments remained to continue the specialized efforts in social programming each had built up, to continue to represent denominational opinion, and to exert a formative influence on their respective churches. Soon after the federation was achieved it became known as the Social Service Council of Canada.

If the role of the Alliance was largely legislative and proscriptive, that of the Council was more legislative and prescriptive. But as important as the Council was, it could in no way replace the individual departments of moral reform. In fact in later years the Council was to prove too cumbersome for the denominations. Individual departments concerned with moral and social reform were at once legislative, proscriptive and prescriptive, but more importantly, they provided leadership in the discussion of social problems including that of the use of leisure, physical recreation and sport--issues involved in social regeneration.

Denominational Departments of Moral Reform

The evangelical Methodists were the first to formally create a separate Department to deal with social issues. Originating from a former Committee on Sociological Questions, in 1902 the Department of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform was created. As the Committee came to investigate the social reality it was to some extent overwhelmed by the complexity it found, but the methods of social regeneration were as important as the results. Despite more frequent calls for action by social gospellers and reformers, the church struggled not to compromise its ideals. In its Twelfth Annual Report, 1914, the Department of Temperance and Moral Reform, on the eve of being renamed the Department of Evangelism and Social Service to better denote its changing social role, wrestled with this important issue.

> The Church distrusts all schemes of social reconstruction that have not the spirit of Jesus at their heart. In the profound conviction, and in the novelty of the situation which a rapid and unprecedented industrial and commercial evolution has placed her today, as well as in the abounding spirit of worldliness, lies the explanation of the Church's present hesitation and perplexity.[84]

From this perplexity the Methodist church via such agencies as the Department of Evangelismand Social Services developed a penchant for enquiry which led to greater social understanding including that of the role of physical recreation as a potential means of social regeneration.

The Presbyterian church followed suit in 1907 with the establishment of a Board of Social Service under the Board of Home Missions.[85] The social outlook of the Board was soon determined. The following resolution, passed at the meeting of the Board in September 1910, gave a clear indication of what its future interest might be.

> Inasmuch as the object of Christianity is to redeem human life in its entirety and in view of conditions existing in society at the present day, the Board feels that active measures should be taken to emphasize the Mission of the Church to the general social and recreative life of the people.[86]

The various subcommittees of the Board set out organizing the many new social programs of the church. The Committee on Political Purity sought support for the Lord's Day Alliance and cooperation with the YMCA; the Literature Committee sought wider distribution of valued books on social themes such as by Rauchenbusch and Addams; the Committee on Modern Moral Problems set out to promote supervised playgrounds to other councils; and the Committee on Recreation and Amusement set out to prepare a positive church policy on the issues of recreation and amusement.[87] Boards such as these were to play a pivotal role in the identification of social issues, in the establishment of social policy of the church towards young people's societies, and ultimately in defining the goals for social regeneration itself.

Anglicans established a comparable organizational structure during the Fifth Session of the General Synod in 1908 with the creation of a standing committee on Moral and Social Reform, presumably to represent the Church of England on the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada. Millman, an Anglican archivist and historian, concluded that the lateness of the movement into this area was because "Anglicans were slow to develop a relevant social ethic and a sensitive social consciousness,"[88] but further positive steps were taken in 1915 with the development of a permanent council to supersede the Committee, the Council for Social Service, Its duty was in part

> to study social problems with a view to the solution of them in harmony with the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; to adopt such measures as may seem advisable to promote . . . the conservation of morals, health and life; and generally to promote the formation of a Christian public opinion upon social problems.[89]

The Council through its Bulletin periodically addressed a number of topical subjects during the interval 1919-1925 including "Eugenics" (science dealing with race qualities), "The Institutional Church," "The Social Structure," "Boy Scouts and Other Organizations," and "The Church and Recreation," all of which provided valuable Anglican opinion on current social themes.

Although Anglicans were slow to take up the banner of the social gospel and were slow to provide for youth, nevertheless during this period the question of the provision by the church of recreation programming became a major point of focus. The church threw its full support behind the Boy Scout movement, and many within the church frowned upon opening the church to other forms of recreation, though they felt at the same time that something more was needed. As far as the AYPA was concerned, the tenor set for youth gatherings ideally placed religion and constructive social intercourse at its centre. "Social evenings should be devised to exemplify the principle of 'fellowship,'" stated the 1922 report of the AYPA, ". . . a social evening should give opportunity for becoming better acquainted, for introducing strangers, for cultivation of the art of conversation, and for games and amusements."[90] The tenor of the times produced an increasing demand for the latter at the expense of more genteel forms of social relationships.

Decline of the Social Gospel

> A few years ago, at the close of the war, many were saying that in the future the Church would pay less attention to doctrine and more to practical living and to the activities of social reconstruction. There are many signs that these prophets were wrong. The very insistence of the practical problems have (sic) led men back to endeavor to get a deeper understanding of the Christian faith. For many the practical activities of the Church are taking a secondary place; men are turning away from plans and programmes and are seeking to understand the meaning of their own ideals and aspirations.[91]

The editors of the Canadian Journal of Religious Thought in the initial publication of their new periodical in 1924, recognized that a fundamental shift in mood was taking place in Canadian protestantism. The social passion which fed the search for social relevance in the previous decades was coming under attack. For one thing, the church had aligned itself precariously between labour and management, and a series of national and provincial strikes after 1919, precipitated a strong feeling of insecurity for social gospellers, which naturally caused a reassessment of their social objectives.[92] For another, the tremendous pace at which social programs had been undertaken, especially during the years 1914 - 1920, put a great burden on the church, financially and spiritually. In the words of Grant, "the social gospel was not crushed by blows from without but collapsed under its own weight."[93]

The collapse was serious indeed, and came in a relatively short span of time. In the space of five years, from 1920 to 1925, the once vital social passion entered a lifeless repose, one characterized by "weariness, reaction and reconsideration."[94] The decline of the social gospel led to an increasing social pacificism and reconsideration of the place of social objectives within the church and its young people's associations.[95]

The most obvious target, with the shift away from social analysis by the church, was the Social Service Council of Canada. During the period of the social gospel, it had developed a nationwide organization which fostered a program of research and publicity aimed at social analysis and legislative reform. "The Social Service

Council believes that Righteousness can be realized in the complex conditions of modern life only through the application to all human affairs of the principles of the Kingdom of God." Its hopes were equally ambitious. The Council called also for the protection of childhood, for the protection of women in industrial life, for wholesome recreation for all, and for international peace.[96] But by 1925, and facing decreasing support from the denominations which saw in it an unnecessary duplication of social service effort, its future was much less certain than it had been a short decade earlier. But still more fundamentally, as Allen pointed out,

> The social service mystique had worn thin in the church departments. After the heady talk of radical changes and complete social reconstructions [as apparent in the creed of the Social Service Council], it was impossible to return with the old enthusiasm to the now traditional social service programmes.[97]

The Canadian Brotherhood Federation suffered a similar fate. In 1912 brotherhoods of all denominations were united into the Brotherhood Federation of Canada with high evangelical hopes for their ability to reconstruct society. Of the Brotherhood movement in 1914, the Methodist Department of Social Service and Evangelism concluded:

> In recent years various efforts have been made to organize the men of the church for the development of their latent powers. . . . There is a greatly increased spiritual fervor . . . as well as a development of a robust physical, social, ethical and spiritual manliness in many of the polyglot peoples . . . whenever they have come under the influence of this movement. The result is a more enlightened Citizenship, and therewith more intelligent efforts to correct the social wrongs and misdoings too prevalent everywhere.[98]

By 1921 Brotherhood evangelism was even more convincingly articulated. Methodist annual conferences gave unqualified commendation to the Brotherhood movement to: a) enlist the men of the community in the service of Jesus Christ; b) bring the gospel message to the homes; c) enthrone Christ in the community life, including social, industrial, commercial and political activities, as well as in the conduct of its institutions and the development of its streets, parks and buildings; and d) to inaugurate a ministering to the poor, sick and sinful.[99] A year later, however, the Department recommended the formation of a federation of Brotherhoods, not in a national body, but "forming a Dominion-wide organization for the men of Methodism."[100] A further split was opening in the evangelical facade of Canadian protestantism.

If the collapse of the Social Service Council and the Canadian Brotherhood Federation represented the decline of social gospel evangelism, it was not so noticeably absent within young people's societies. In fact, Presbyterians flaunted the fact that membership in young people's societies was steadily increasing in the 1920s. Statistics presented during the Fifty-first General Assembly, 1925, proudly presented the historical commitment Presbyterian youth had made to young people's organizations, as shown by increased membership between 1900 and 1924.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS, 1900 AND 1924

Young People's organization	1900	1924
total	758	4,180
no. of jr. organizations	32	863
no. of older boys	4	1,045
no. of older girls	-	1,196
no. of young people's adult	722	1,076
Total no. in all organizations		94,471 [101]

On the surface, no significant changes were apparent other than good success in raising the number of youths interested in this form of organization. The vigor of young people's organizations within the church remained one testimonial to the accomplishments of the social gospel. Young people's societies remained a force in the social platform of the church partially because such organizations were helping to solve the "young boy problem." However, on closer examination, in the declining years of the social gospel, a good deal of reconsideration was underway, particularly about the social nature and social role of young people's activities; an important force which had led protestantism towards social action was in retreat.

CHAPTER 2

THE GYMNASIUM AND SHOWERBATH: THE GOSPEL MESSAGE AND PHYSICAL RECREATION

The Young Boy Problem

The process of searching for social relevance by the church had an important impact on its attitude and outlook towards youth. The liberal theology of the social gospel called for a greater recognition of mind and body as well as spirit. As a result, traditional views of the place of recreational and leisure activities in the social matrix were brought into question while the search for the answers to the problems of youth was at its zenith. These problems most often centered around understanding the essential characteristics of youth and the proper use of discretionary time.

It is an overstatement to suggest that concern and occasionally innovation were not a part of the church's traditional involvement with youth. For example, the redoubtable Anglicans planned the George Street Home for Boys in Toronto, which the _Evangelical Churchman_, a predecessor of the _Canadian Churchman_, wholeheartedly supported while noting the salient architectural features of this Home.

> The bath-room is one of the most important and novel additions to the institution.
>
> The gymnasium is another valuable addition to the Home, and will no doubt be thoroughly appreciated by the "garrison.". . . Gymnastic apparatus of almost every description, dumb bells, Indian Clubs, horizontal and parallel bars, "horses," sliding

> seats for rowing practise, etc., all of diminutive proportions, suited to the size and strength of their juvenile users, are being fitted up.[1]

Despite this exceptional gymnasium, however, the church was largely ignoring the physical needs of youth.

With the rise of social evangelism during the period 1895 - 1925, a mundane interest in the problems of boyhood became inadequate to meet the emerging new social outlook of the church. Magney noted the changing attitude of the church towards children, their education and discipline, in this period, and remarked that control had been the watchword in their training.[2] However, the gymnasium and showerbath alone, representing traditional church interest in physical recreation in the period before the social gospel, were not sufficient to meet the challenge of changing circumstances and a general concern for youth would be transformed into the "young boy problem."

The essential difference between this new perspective and traditional interest in adolescent development was much more significant than a matter of degree. In the new but still predominantly paternalistic social milieu of the twentieth century, church agencies, associations, and individuals alike, studied the boy with such diligence that he was transformed into the "young boy problem," a term which was popular during the period. Many liberals and conservatives too came to believe that this was the greatest problem with which the church had to deal, though their solutions might differ considerably.[3] Indeed, resolution of the problem would be accomplished at the expense of the "young girl problem" if one was thought to exist at all,[4] and to the neglect of adult social programming.[5] However, it would take a full vigorous effort on the part of those interested in athletics, for example, to overcome the gymnasium and showerbath mentality prevalent in traditional protestantism; such a mentality preferred low organized physical activities and games and a clean-cut appearance to more serious analytical attempts to study and provide for the physical and social needs of young people. Gymnastics and muscular exercise, fresh air and frequent use of the bath would not answer all the needs of the modern boy. The simplicity of implementation of this view had encouraged its use, as seen in an Ottawa sermon to young men in 1917, entitled, "Drifting: A Sermon to Young Men":

> Don't Drift into Habits of Impurity--In all of us are appetites and desires which are innocent enough when kept in their place. . . . Beware of spectacles and pictures, of books and amusements, that excite the lower passions. . . . Abstinence from strong drink, and the excessive use of animal food, plenty of gymnastics and muscular exercise, fresh air and frequent use of the bath, early rising and sufficient hard work, will answer most of the questions which perplex a young man. And better than all of these is the purity and power of Jesus.[6]

Protestants, anxious to learn about proper adolescent development, set out not only to upgrade and expand young people's societies, but also to seriously study youth and youthful activities, and to enlist interdenominational and international cooperation and shared understanding in order to accomplish their mission. The rise of the social gospel in Canadian protestantism with its obsessive concern for youth speeded significantly the realization of these objectives. It searched for the Kingdom of God on earth for the benefit of future generations, which youth represented. In response the evangelical denominations in turn set out to grapple with the realities of Canadian boyhood.

The Church saw a number of practical concerns which helped give definition to the young boy problem. Two of the most obvious concerns were declining membership of young adolescents in the church and the declining ratio of males to females in young people's organizations. At the turn of the century with declining attendance and an uncertain future for young people's societies, there were some Methodists who would suggest that a strong case be made for action to resolve the young boy problem. Rev. T. E. Egerton Shore, superintendent of the prestigious Fred Victor Mission, Toronto, was one who used the occasion of an Epworth League Rally to underscore his views on the issues surrounding the dilemma of this matter.

> At a Conference League Rally held in our city a little over a month ago, the church was packed with 1,800 young people. But they were nearly all young women. Among that crowd . . . there were not 100 young men altogether, and most of them were delicate looking specimens of the genus homo. Where were the young men of vigor and strength? Where were the young men of athletics and sport? . . . Wherever they were, they were not in the church, and they never will be until we go after them, and adapt our methods of work to their conditions and needs.[7]

Shore felt that there were limitations to what the church might reasonably expect to accomplish. "My own opinion is that the Church cannot hope, nor should she desire, to compete with the world along lines of recreation and social enjoyment, for the worldly young man's favour."[8] While there were restrictions and limitations, he made it clear that the church had a useful role to play in this area for those already in the church. "But the Church ought to make provision for the social needs of young men within her walls if she is going to save them from satisfying their nature's requirements in places of worldly influence and amid associations of sin."[9] As this point of view gained momentum within the church, others reinforced it, calling not only for a more systematic approach to the study and provision of services,[10] but also supporting the use of athletics as a means of achieving such goals.[11] With the rising optimism of the social gospel, a few concerned clergy and laymen would later come to hope that the church might even compete to a limited extent for the worldly young man's favour through the use of athletics.

Alfred Briggs, barrister son of the Methodist Book Steward, echoed Shore's earlier sentiments at a Toronto conference a few years later. He also sustained Shore's observation that the genesis of a steady interest was being generated within the church for such work, noting that "The Young Men's Movement is upon us."[11] Briggs began: "A little over four years ago . . . I had then to deplore the fact that, whilst in every church there could be found a Ladies Aid . . . there was not a church in the city that could boast a Man's Aid." Within a few years circumstances were beginning to change: "Now, through pioneer work in various churches, and the splendid encouragement of the Methodist Young Men's Association, there are no less than seventeen young men's clubs or associations in this city." And as to the methods which accomplished this transformation, Briggs was blunt indeed.

> Let us understand this. Let us understand that the spiritual is an occasion, necessarily subservient to the athletic or social or literary. Let us make the necessary sharp distinction in our minds between direct spiritual work and the work of attracting and interesting, though with the former always in view.[12]

This invigorated approach to the boy problem would become more generally acceptable as a means of rescuing young people for the church, though many would find it impossible to make such a sharp distinction between the spiritual and social mission of the church. Nevertheless, still others would undergo a change of spirit in their personal search for practical Christianity and resolution of the young boy problem.

Methodism could no longer ignore the interest in youth. Not only lay Methodists such as Briggs but clerics too, held strong views about the necessity for the church to intervene. Rev. W. T. Brown, Hintonburg, Ontario, spoke loudly at an international Epworth convention in 1905, representing the liberal theology of Methodism towards the young boy problem.

> In principle it [the church] is broad enough to include every activity for the redemption of man, and we ought to make it so in practice. I believe every young man ought to belong to the Church; but many whose lives are clean, whose hearts are sound, whose ideals are high, are not in the Church. There are many activities to-day pre-eminently Christian and yet outside the Church. I have all sympathy with the Y.M.C.A. and many other clubs and societies doing much to redeem humanity, but I am inclined to think the existence of these is possible because the Church has failed to do her duty.
>
> I am not able to solve this problem of an enlarged Church life, but I believe in none of these societies is it possible to do the work so well as it could be done in the Christian Church, for nowhere else on earth are foundations laid so widely and so well as in that organization, which more truly than any other represents Christ's kingdom on earth. When we see our duty and do it, we will lay hold on the life of the young in all its branches of activity and give it a home in the Church; in a word, we will relate life to God.[13]

Under the influence of such a practical theology, the denominations would be encouraged to experiment with a number of plans and programs directed at youth.

By 1910 there was a growing sense of urgency, due on one hand to marginal successes in establishing young people's societies as an improved function of the church, and on the other, to more intimate social analyses including social surveys which demanded greater awareness and concern for youth and youthful activities. This was the feeling of Rev. F. L. Farewell, Associate Secretary of the Toronto Methodist Young Men's Association. He kept abreast of current literature on the young boy, and through the process of analyzing adolescence, felt the greater sense of urgency. He argued that the period of greatest responsiveness to moral and religious ideals occurred in ages twelve through twenty. This being the time of conversion, it was important for the church to act, but it was also the time of "savage" and "semi-criminal" tendencies. Therefore, he concluded, "It is the period of will-training and character-formation, when all the forces at our command should be utilized . . . to control and direct them along the lines that make for the largest life. And so the problem of the boy _is urgent_."[14] Farewell recommended further that the solution may lie in the education of leaders for work in this department, a notion increasingly proselytized by the YMCA.[15] Methodists were coming to believe that what was most effective might include an ever lengthening list of social activities.

Presbyterians too were led to action by the dilemma of the young boy problem. Between Methodists and Presbyterians there may have been agreement on the scope of the problem, but on the solution Presbyterians tooka more conservative stand. Concerned with the continued drain of youth particularly from Bible class and Christian service organizations, the Presbyterian Record after summarizing testimonials from across Canada verifying the problem, elaborated upon its own remedy for the situation: Good teaching, good fellowship and good works.[16] The wise teacher will

> welcome light from any legitimate source, using side lights from secular and current history, from travel, from literature, from archaeology. . . . The Bible class of young men should have a room to itself and it should be made cheerful by curtains, flowers and pictures.[17]

Young people's societies were very much an important adjunct of the church itself, though the church was conservative in its social teachings. Good fellowship, the Record stressed, should bring to bear upon the student, a wide range of circumstances, including social gatherings, annual dinners, literary evenings, Sabbath afternoon walks, historical pilgrimages, visits to museums, factories, and other places of interest. "By athletics, too. Even baseball may be a valuable means to an end. There may be good religion in a class football team, even though it be poor football."[18] Good works in the service of the church, it was suggested, might include visiting the sick, praying in public in class sessions or taking teacher Sabbath school training. While such advice might seem appropriate to committed Presbyterians, other denominations viewed it as overly conservative. Its emphasis was clearly in a traditional vein.

As the study of social problems in general became more specialized, discussion of the boy problem in particular became more widespread. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the 1913 Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church, for example, dealt with the boy problem in a number of contexts. The adolescent figured prominently in the "Problem of the City," "The Rural Problem," and again specifically in relation to "Fundamentals," "The Social Application of the Gospel" and "Training for Service" where Rev. C. A. Myers, an Edmonton cleric, stressed that the young boy problem was the result of the inaction of the church to provide for changing requirements of youth. Moreover, concerning the absence of older boys from Sunday school, he argued: "Let us, however, at once frankly admit that it is not necessary, nor is it due primarily to their perversity or badness, but rather because of our own failure properly to provide for their needs."[19] Evidently there was a growing appreciation of the differential needs of youth in Canadian protestantism as the boy problem came to be debated more widely in the churches.

Anglicans entered the fray late and with some reluctance. But within a short span of years, they too developed an awareness of the social dimensions of the boy problem, and organized a complex set of associations to realize any practical ambitions. At the outset Anglicans were content to view the problems of youth mainly within the framework of the church society, rather than the larger social community. Themes for the various Brotherhood conventions at the turn of the century would indicate, however, that Anglicans felt many of the same pressures and were therefore headed in the same general direction as were the more evangelical denominations. Anglicans also were experiencing real declines in church attendance and youth participation in church activities. In 1899 the theme for the Brotherhood convention was entitled, "The Spread of Christ's Kingdom Among Young Men [in the Brotherhood]"[20] and the following year another popular theme was chosen, "The Basis of National Greatness," meaning of course Christian character. In their enthusiasm, liberal Anglicans pushed their arguments forward, emphasizing for example, the attainment of Christian manhood, to which the Canadian Churchman reacted in order to keep what it thought was a proper balance. "If I might venture on one word of unfavourable criticism," it remarked, "it would be to say that there was too much talk of manliness. The expression 'man to man,' and the words 'men,' 'manly,' 'manliness,' were reiterated with such wearisome frequency."[21] But there were other words of unfavourable criticism within the Anglican church which were far more severe. The less charitable, though an extremely small number, felt compelled to charge that young people's societies in general were divisive and subversive of the church's authority.[22] But the release of decennial census figures brought another reminder that the position of youthful church membership was precarious, and further discussion was provoked as to both the cause and possible cure of the problem. More informed Anglicans were tackling the problem face on, promoting not only religious welfare, but the social and intellectual life of its youth as well, particularly during "that trying period between confirmation and marriage."[23]

The Anglican Sunday School Commission through its official organ, the Bulletin, recognized that a change in emphasis was taking place not only in its Sunday schools but more generally in denominational religious education.

> Never before have "the boy" and what is called "the Boy problem" been given so much attention by the leaders in the field of Religious Education and by those institutions which are working in that field. This, in itself, is significant for two reasons:
>
> a) Because it shows that there has been, on the part of some, at least, an awakening to a realization that there is a real need.
>
> b) Because, along with this realization of the problem, there has come an earnest effort to study it and to seek its solution.[24]

Obviously, a critical step in the resolution of the problem came with the recognition within all denominations that the church had more than a religious mission with the adolescent if it were to counteract the recent gains made by the secular world for the young man's favour. Liberal Methodist clerics such as Rev. Shore articulated their concern that this was not happening frequently enough within the church. For the resolution of the young boy "something more is wanted," Shore concluded,

> and that is a recognition on the part of the Church of the social, intellectual and physical nature of young men. . . . It has too long and too strongly emphasized the religion of the sanctuary to the exclusion of the religion of secular and social life.[25]

Anglicans and Presbyterians too were brought to this realization as well. The social gospel with its social concept of man[26] would encourage further introspective analysis of the religion of secular and social life by the denominations.

Outside Influences

As the young boy problem became more widely discussed, there was increasing interest by the denominations in familiarizing themselves with the literature of social relevance generated through periodicals, books, pamphlets and the like, on both sides of the Atlantic. The social gospel was not a unique Canadian experiment, but was part of a larger and more "widespread attempt in Europe and North America to revive and develop Christian social insights and to apply them to the emerging forms of a collective society."[27] Anglicans in particular were keen to scrutinize British publications while Presbyterians and Methodists concentrated to a greater extent on American literature for insights into programs being developed there.

While the denominations were attempting to use both American and British literature as sources of reference, they were for the most part applying it to the Canadian circumstance. However, it should be emphasized as Grant pointed out, that the Canadian version of the social gospel had some distinctive features despite outside influences, including the continued "emphasis of earlier campaigns of moral reform, which it supplemented but did not replace."[28] The enormous volume of international literature encouraged deeper investigation of the young boy and it served often as a precursor, influencing not only program content within young people's societies but the very shape and structure of the society itself. Very few church or young people's societies were indigenous to Canada. Via the United

States came the Epworth League, Christian Endeavour movement, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and from Britain the YMCA, Boy Scouts and the Boys Brigade. Though ideas were regularly borrowed from abroad, Canadians took advantage of this broader perspective by adapting it to suit the Canadian temperament. Exposure to such influences as literature, conferences, and speaking tours by American and British clerical and secular reformers, and in particular such quasi-religious associations as the YMCA and the Boy Scouts, had significant impact on both the understanding Canadians had of the young boy problem and the set of solutions adopted to resolve it.

This is not to say that all denominations did not foster a welter of child and adolescent literature of their own, some of which was published interdenominationally especially between Methodist and Presbyterian. But by and large these attempted to inculcate moral teaching through the use of story, parable, and example, and were not at all concerned with systematic analysis of the young boy. This analysis was left to the major adult denominational periodicals. Presbyterians published a paper for senior youth (aged 15-18) entitled, The Pathfinder, and Methodists produced Playmates for junior youth (aged 6-9), and several others were published for intermediate youth (aged 10-14) including Onward (Methodist) and East and West (Presbyterian), the latter being a fine example of the use of positive morality stories using the motif of sports and games.[29] Anglicans too had an equivalent literature, much of it published by its General Board of Religious Education, including the Young Soldier and Crusader aimed at the older boy (aged 15-23) and the

Teacher's Assistant, which included the Commission Bulletin, the official organ of the Sunday School Commission of the Church of England in Canada. Much of this youth-oriented literature was founded after the turn of the century, indicating the growing concern the church felt towards the young people of its communion. East and West, for example, was first published in 1902; the Pathfinder, designed for Bible class and young people's societies appeared in 1913[30] and the Sunday school publication of the Church of England, Our Empire, was transformed from a British publication by the GBRE into a Canadian periodical in 1916.[31] The Canadian Epworth Era, which was founded in 1899 as the official organ of the Epworth League and other young people's societies of the Methodist church, was of particular importance to the church as an agent of the gospel and all Methodist youth were encouraged to read it. It changed its name in 1915 to Youth and Service, to suit the spirit of the times. In addition to these there were numerous lesser publications of the denominational Sunday school committees.[32] Taken together they represent a significant avenue of the expression of the church towards youth during this period of social innovation.

These specialized publications for youth were additional to the adult publications of the church which generally carried sections for youthful readers. The most important of these, which were the official publications of the church, included the Methodist Christian Guardian, which had absorbed the earlier Methodist Magazine and Review in 1906, the Presbyterian Record, and the Canadian Churchman, both of which had also absorbed earlier publications. These were the adult literature of the denominations which primarily addressed the young boy problem to its communion readership and it was here that the influences of international literature were most noticeably visible.

Topic Cards

All of this literature in one way or another was geared to assist the Sunday school within each denomination. The traditional church Sunday school was a primary point of contact with the community at large, and with youth in particular, since its establishment as an official arm of the church prior to Confederation.[33] Within the framework of the Sunday school and the young people's societies, which were formed in the post-Confederation period, the importance of youth oriented church publications as a mediator of the young boy problem was enhanced with the adoption of several American schemes to introduce uniform Sunday school curricula, graded lesson plans and uniform topic cards. These were of particular appeal to the Methodists and Presbyterians whose Canadian traditions were closely allied with the United States. In fact, Presbyterians continued to be supplied with International Sunday School Lessons from the United States until the 1920s.[34] The introduction of non-biblical material was considered by some to be a new heresy, but the temper of the times supported the greater use of these materials as a forum for social commentary, directed to the young.

The use of topic cards in particular for this purpose in Sunday schools and young people's societies became commonplace by World War I. Before the turn of the century, Methodist and

Presbyterian sessions were adopting this novel idea of regular monthly or weekly topic cards particularly for the study of foreign missions and church polity. The plan of study for 1898 endorsed by the Presbyterian General Assembly was indicative of the early topic schemes offered to young people's societies and Sabbath schools. The year's topics were programmed in advance and included, for example, in February, a discussion of early pioneers in the Home Mission field; the August topic dealt with the church and Baptism; and the December topic featured how young people may help the congregation.[35] There was some concern that such topics should be directed at increasingly younger children, those too young to join adolescent organizations, but who yet might be trained to become involved in church work at a later age. The Committee on Young People's Societies elaborated:

> The interest of the children, of say between the ages of ten and fifteen, should be drawn out towards the actual practical work of the Church. . . . The Endeavour and other Young People's Societies take up the practical side of the Christian life. But there is a period before the children are yet old enough for the societies, when, if some means could be employed to elicit their interest in, for example, the missionary work of the Church, they would be prepared for active effort in the societies by-and-by, and, in many cases would be prevented from drifting out of sympathy with the Church and its work, as too many, especially of the boys and younger men, now do.[36]

Therefore, topic cards could be used to educate young children and to avert the young boy problem in upcoming years. In practice, however, even within the staid Presbyterian church, the use of these topic cards at the turn of the century was not uniformly applied since it was left to the discretion of the individual presbytery to decide how it should teach morality,although they were officially encouraged for all. Their use within the YPSCE for example in 1899 totalled 27,705 topic cards and booklets[37] but with fluctuating membership even that small number might not be uniformly sustained. As a result, by using the various denominational publications, a wider readership was attained for weekly or monthly topics of discussion which considerably expanded on this American-built plan as a potential method of education and conversion.

Within the next decade membership drives were successful in turning declining enrollments around and good increases were experienced prior to the War. Young people's societies were enjoying a new wave of optimism. To capitalize on this, the church increased its use of topic cards as a form of evangelism to the young and was assisted by the many new youth publications which gave generous space to a discussion of weekly topics. The report of the Board of Sabbath Schools and Young People's Societies for 1914, summed up the new optimism for the use of this method of conversion.

> A common Topic Card, however, has been prepared for all these societies and it has been remarkably well received, especially by the Presbyterian Guilds and Christian Endeavour Societies. This unified Topic Card along with the common Standard of Excellence and suggested Order of Service has done very much in helping all the various organizations of young people to feel that they have many things in common and that the Church of which they are a vital part and for which they are to provide the leadership in the very near future is intensely interested in their welfare and their highest success. It has also been possible, on account of having only one Topic Card, to provide much more satisfactory Helps for the regular meetings of the Young People's Societies than ever before. "The Pathfinder," of the Presbyterian Publications, is now giving a full page to the discussion of each topic, with helpful suggestions as to ways in which the programme may be carried out. Carefully prepared articles on each topic are being provided for the "Record" and these also are printed sufficiently in advance to be used in the preparation of the programme for the weekly meetings.

> In addition to these the "Presbyterian," Toronto, and the "Presbyterian Witness," Halifax, provide each week very helpful articles on these topics.[38]

Methodists were urged to do likewise in the adoption and use of topic cards prepared by the Church, especially as they ran parallel with the textbooks provided for Bible study, the study of Church doctrines and polity, and the study of missions.[39] At the turn of the century the General Conference was quite concerned that the church give increased attention to securing and retaining the interest of young men and boys in the work of the church.

The use of such topic cards in a regular and systematic way posed a number of advantages for the denominations which chose to use them. First, and most vitally, they were a source of evangelism which could be used as the church saw fit for the promotion of its interests within young people's societies. Second, the discussion of a single topic at specified intervals throughout the year might encourage a broader dialogue between various groups or societies, which came into contact during that period, on topics which were seasonal in nature or which served wider interests such as national concerns. Finally, as indicated by the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1914, due to their uniformity the provision of carefully worded statements giving the church's viewpoint was possible on topics which were timely and which also permitted the optional distribution of a single article in a number of its journals concurrently. However, despite the benefits of publishing from a single press which the denominations took as a preliminary step towards union, Methodist and Presbyterian topic cards were not produced corroboratively, and each proceeded along lines which it felt best.

With the adoption of the use of topic cards in Canada first by the Presbyterians in 1896[40] and shortly thereafter by the Methodist church, a significant forum for voicing denominational social concern had been created. The gradual shift towards social themes in the church especially after the creation of such social agencies as the Departments of Moral and Social Reform and the Canadian Council of Social Service, began to show up in the topics selected for weekly discussion within Sunday schools and young people's societies. There was a shift as well towards the study of Home missions with its Canadian perspective to complement the heavy emphasis the church had traditionally placed on foreign missions. The result was an increased awareness of social issues within selected topics relating to, for example, physical recreation, recognizing the heightened interest in matters of mind and body.

Early topic subjects often dealt with physical recreation indirectly and from a personal or biblical viewpoint, to the neglect of a broader social or societal perspective. The 1898 prayer meeting topics and daily reading lists of the YPSCE for May and June of that year are typical examples. The discussion of "Our Bodies" during the week of May 9-15 and "The Use of Time" for the week of June 20-26, steered the young Presbyterian towards the highest use of his summer leisure time, without particular reference to any broader social problem.[41] But after the turn of the century this was to change.

The early years of the new century saw the first few topic subjects dealing with social questions, perhaps influenced by a decision in the United States to introduce non-biblical topics in graded Sunday school courses, which were supplied to Presbyterian Sunday schools in Canada. By 1902 traditional subjects were still being treated including missions, history and polity of the church, but more often the occasional topic on the Sabbath in Canada and the Lord's Day Alliance or on Home Mission work among foreigners.[42] Gradually, however, social problems became more directly addressed even in relation to biblical topics such as the "Consecration of the Body," the Epworth topic for the week of August 4, 1907.[43]

By 1912 Methodists and Presbyterians were regularly including a proper discussion of the place of recreation in relation to religion, acknowledging the fact that recreation and amusement were at last legitimate concerns which might be discussed in an objective and systematic way. The Presbyterian Guild topic for June 1912 was "Recreation," dealing for the most part with athletics, amateur and professional.[44] The topic for the Epworth Leagues for May 25, 1913, written by Rev. S. T. Tucker, was the "Church and Recreation" and for the benefit of all young leaguers the high purpose of recreation was carefully defined, and its dangers pointed out, from the Christian viewpoint. In this new age of the social gospel, the church strove to find a comfortable position regarding physical recreation. The decree of social gospel philosophy demanded it, as Tucker reiterated: "Whatever makes human life more normal and noble--physically, intellectually and morally, as well as spiritually--in short, whatever contributes to the progress of a true civilization, promotes the kingdom of God and hastens its coming in the world."[45] Tucker believed that the church should study more closely the social teaching of Jesus in order to place recreation in its proper relation in human life. For a few social gospellers, at least, the gospel message included a legitimate message concerning physical recreation.

The July Citizenship Topic of the Presbyterian Guild that year encouraged considerable discussion on the theme "Public Amusements." As Rev. John W. Stephen, author of the article, explained, the need for amusement was reinforced by the character of the age. Noting that at present the formative period of Canadian nationhood was one filled with stress and strain, he argued that relaxation and diversion were both fitting and necessary. Turning to particular forms of amusement, he offered a brief overview of the problems associated with athletics, the race-course, the theatre, dancing and card playing, all included in the popular understanding of the word amusement.[46] The Presbyterian Young People's Society topic for January 1916 examined "Amusement that is Worth While" and its author, Rev. S. Black of Montreal, gave his point of view for the benefit of young Presbyterians. While providing liberal scriptural references, Black exhorted principles which he felt should govern the world of amusements: they should be servants, not masters; they should not injure others; and there must be a balance of body, mind and spirit.[47] Such topic card programs encouraged denominational discussion at all levels from the older Epworth League to the Junior Young People's Society about the place of physical recreation in modern society, where the gymnasium was a legitimate part of the church structure.[48] A common characteristic of all such discussions was the liberal use of quotations showing the presence of American journalism on Canadian understanding of the issues. Interestingly the vast quantity of American adolescent literature was helping to shape Canadian understanding of the young boy problem.

The Anglican church did not adopt this form of evangelism with the same commitment as had the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Anglican concerns about the best use of discretionary time were given voice through its network of young people's societies, and ably assisted by its periodical literature, but not in any systematic way. The church was less convinced though not totally unaware of it as a social concern. The program of the Toronto Diocesan Conference for 1896, for example, would indicate even at this early date some sensitivity for the issues. Included on the agenda for discussion were such topics as:

I. Amusements and Recreation in the Christian Life
    a) Their place generally
    b) Recreation and Sunday

III. Social Problems
    a) The Church's message of the Capitalist
    b) The Church and Civic and Secular agencies

V. The Work of the Church
    a) Church Clubs and Layman's Leagues
    b) Clergy Houses in Country districts

VI. The Parish
    a) Church Social Gatherings: Their Use and Abuse.[49]

The format, however, belies any strong interest in a social gospel at this early date. At this point in time even the more evangelical Methodists most often approached social issues from a personal or biblical viewpoint. In this instance treatment of conference topics totally reflected this perspective. The speeches showed unfamiliarity with sociological methods such as social surveys and often idealized the purity of youth.[50] For example, the address on "Church Social Gatherings" delivered by a Mr. Dennistoun, of Peterborough, Ontario, would have no catering to amusement, but stressed the importance of giving youngsters work to do.[51] One constructive result of the Conference, however, was the subsequent establishment of a "Church Club" in Toronto but one with aims compatible with current Anglican thinking. A club whose aims were: a) to prepare for the work of the Synod, b) to encourage esprit d'corps, and c) to stress home and foreign missions, left meager room for thought and discussion about physical recreation.[52]

Foreign Books and Publications

Quite conveniently, all denominations found topical treatment in foreign literature of social problems of interest to them, and often the topics were treated in more depth than could be found from Canadian sources alone. Presbyterians relied most heavily and at times exclusively on American literature. For example, in Presbyterian denominational periodicals, articles on health and recreation referred to American literature almost exclusively for technical information when such issues were raised in its pages.[53] Anglicans drew most heavily on British sources for social guidance. Methodists drew from both traditions, but at the same time relied more heavily on Canadian literature when it was available, than did the other denominations. In the form of annual questionnaires, the denominations gathered information about the state of the church in Canada. Methodists were particularly inclined to use information gathered in this way as a tool for evangelism and to print the best of it in Methodist periodical publications. Due to an evangelical tradition, coupled with strong feelings of nationalism, Methodists relied more heavily on their own resources, but they too turned abroad for a better explanation and analysis of the young boy problem. Methodists too, culled from American sources and to a lesser extent from British publications. In the United States, Americans were deeply involved in the issues of the young boy problem and any helpful guidance for solving Canadian problems was warmly welcomed. All Canadians understood something of what was happening to the social fabric of American cities dictated by the trend towards urbanism and industrialization. Some felt that, in time, essentially rural Canada would be experiencing the same need as American cities for more provision for physical recreation, and therefore Canadians could benefit from the American experience.

Methodists took the lead in developing reading lists to assist the church in the study of young people "during all the delicate period of adolescence." For the purpose of this study, the Manitoba and Northwest Conference in 1904, suggested American books by Forbush and Coe dealing with the boy problem.[54] This recommendation of the regional conference was endorsed by the General Conference that year, acknowledging the spreading concern for the problems of youth throughout Methodism. The Conference elaborated on the varied recommendations concerning the young man and boy problem:

> After a wide review of the varied organizations within the Conferences, and also the best known beyond them in Canada and the United States, the strong convictions of each Conference are that:
> 1. The personality of the leader is all important.
> 2. Forms and methods should be adapted to circumstances, and boys and young men should not be organized together.
> 3. With boys the "gang period" can be successfully utilized for their conversion and careful training through adolescence.
> 4. The natural and proper desire of young men for association and recreation can be met, and their erroneous ideas of the church and religion can be corrected by providing for their physical, intellectual, social and spiritual natures.
> 5. Clean athletics, indoor games, literary and social evenings and debates, with timely and efficient Bible teaching, all may be made to work together for the highest Christian ends.
> 6. The right element and the spiritual purpose must dominate, with a liberal mental attitude towards methods in which spontaneity and not uniformity will be the wiser aim.
> 7. Wherever the need is not already in some way met, the earnest attention of our pastors and churches is directed to the necessity of providing by some method for the real needs of the boys and young men of our congregations, and the large numbers of others who should be. If we seek to help them God will surely show us how, and the Holy Spirit will honor our judicious human agency.[55]

These principal elements as outlined in American literature--the importance of leadership, utilization of the "gang impulse" as it was called, boy-oriented activities, and a prescribed wider use of physical recreation--became the principal tenets on which the social gospel in Canada would in large measure come to believe were necessary for the resolution of the boy problem. Methodist Epworth and young people's societies were reporting increasing numbers in their ranks, and by 1905 claimed 1,776 societies with a total membership of 70,338.[56] Correspondingly, the potential usefulness of physical recreation to help effect the reconstruction of society increased. Presbyterians developed a manual which outlined for young people daily readings, a plan of study, consecutive bible study, literary study and included the Model Constitution of the Presbyterian Guild.[57] In particular the literary department was a comparatively new feature of Presbyterian societies in 1904 and represented the beginnings of an expanded interest in the young boy problem. That year three American books were recommended to young Presbyterian readers: Simpson's The Fact of Christ, Speer's A Young Man's Questions, and Welsh's In Relief of Doubt.[58]

The question was asked of the 1908 Assembly, "Does the congregation manifest any interest in, or take any oversight of the recreative life of the community? If so, how, and with what result?" Many answers were forthcoming to the effect that this was no part of the work of the church. One session lamented that "cards, athletics and the ballroom are the curse of many of the young people" but sagaciously wondered if there ought not to be a logical connection between recreation and the church. The Committee on Church Work and Life responded, citing a report from Bird Tail Reserve, which noted that a "Christian Association had been formed, which controls sports, with the result that games are clean, and cards and dancing have practically disappeared."[59] Such insights were occurring at a time when the newly created Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada, through its Committee on Literature, was preparing common reading courses in religious education and social science, examining recreation and social reconstruction, and supporting church involvement in physical recreation. More importantly, the literature often suggested social surveys and experimental programs to complement the rationale.

The Presbyterian General Assembly itself was not idle on this question. In June 1912 a Commission of Religious Education was struck by the General Assembly to make a "scientific survey of the whole field of Religious Education in the Presbyterian Church in Canada, having special reference to the Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies."[61] The results of its deliberations produced a short list of literary works bearing upon three main phases of the young boy problem: Knowledge of the child in his physical, mental and spiritual education; knowledge of the best study material; and knowledge of the best means of making use of this material.[62] Again American publications were conspicuous. Included for recommendation were such volumes as St. John's Child Nature and Child Nurture, Coe's Education in Religion and Morals, Harrison's A Study of Child Nature, and Educational Evangelism by McKinley, and the occasional British publication such as Maccunn's The Making of Character.[63]

The use of such literature as an evangelical force was encouraged by the church and as a result additional updated lists were subsequently prepared for those who desired to read more widely on the subject of religious education.[64] The church began to explore the vicissitudes of work with young people under such divergent headings as--Religious Life of the Child, Psychological Studies, Education and Religion, Teaching, Story Telling, Work with Boys and Young Men, Sunday School Architecture, Methods in Sunday School Work, and Methods in Young People's Work. In fact the Commission sought information from those interested in the young boy problem with such noticeable diligence that one respondent claimed, "The value of the survey in educating the church is quite as great as its value in gathering information."[65] Although it was understood that many would not find it a useful service,[66] others would find it of benefit, clerics and laymen alike, since recommended readings included the best books written anywhere on the young boy problem.

Those references cited as most important for the resolution of the boy problem included publications by all the prominent American authors of the day writing in the areas of religious education, sociology, psychology and physical education. For work with men and young boys, Forbush, Foster, Fiske, Hall and Speer were quoted most often. Regarding methods in young people's work such authors as Baker, Butterfield, Chesley, Crews, McDougall and Wells were listed as important sources of reference.[67] The committee worked in subsequent years to keep the list of helpful references updated and there was no doubt that these were used by clerics interested in resolution of the young boy problem. Names such as Coe, Forbush, Speer--were those which were most often cited in Canadian protestant literature concerned with the problem of the young boy and physical recreation.[68]

The potential religious value of a rigorous social interest in youth, highlighted by Methodist and Presbyterian leadership in this area, gave encouragement to the Church of England. The church was looking more in the same direction and it was watching the evangelical denominations which were first to tackle the problem in a concerted way. "The Church in Canada has been very slow to move in this direction," stated the Committee on Anglican Young People's Association in 1911, "but the experience and testimony of other communions have taught us its inestimable value," and furthermore it was strongly urged upon the General Synod to take action in this branch of church work.[69]

Anglicans looked to Britain for further guidance. This closer contact with Britain led inevitably to a steady diet of British "muscular Christianity" in Canadian Anglicanism, and its most popular myths were unquestioned. In this tradition, the character-forming potential of sport had been responsible, according to the Canadian Churchman, for English "stoicism and respect for the rules of the great game of life."[70] But intense interest in British sport encouraged parochialism which tended to undermine the perceived value of Canadian sport, and this may account in part for the church's slowness to provide for youth in this area. For example, in its denominational literature the Anglican church in Canada repeatedly decried Sunday golf as "utterly unchristian and unworthy of intelligent men living in a Christian country."[71] But it is of the British game, played in Britain, that reference was usually made, ignoring completely the existence of the sport in Canada, whereas Presbyterians, by contrasting example, became almost obsessive about the Sunday playing of the game in Canada.[72]

But British sport was having considerable difficulty itself, as the usefulness of it as a social force helpful to the English church was coming into question. However, the relationship is significant because the Anglican church drew on the British social gospel with which it was most familiar, and not on American views regarding physical recreation. Despite having high ideals for the value of British sport, Anglicans took a more practical perspective about the place and purpose of sport on this side of the Atlantic. As the Presbyterian and Methodist churches drew heavily on the American social gospel for reinforcement, likewise Anglicans often found themselves reprinting British reform literature and occasionally repeating it as well.

The Lambeth conferences provide examples of how the social expression of the English church served as a regular source of inspiration to Canadian Anglicans. These Conferences of the Bishops of the Anglican communion regularly considered the range of problems affecting modern society--economic, industrial and social, and as a source they were widely quoted in Canada. For example, the Pan-Anglican and Lambeth Conference of 1908 devoted a portion of its interest to "The Church's Care for the Recreation and Social Well-Being of the Young." The Conference findings were of immense interest to the Canadian church, and the concern in England voiced at the Conference condemning sports leagues in England influenced thinking on the similar subject in Canada.[73] Other such conferences of the nineteenth century even became the basis of Anglican opinion on "The Social Application of Christian Principles" regarding industrial problems and Christianity in the 1920s.[74] Predictably, Anglicans reacted to most social issues raised in the British press from opinion about the possible physical deterioration of the Anglo-Saxon race,[75] to the introduction of a Sunday Closing Bill in parliament,[76] and the provision of organized Sunday athletics.[77]

All denominations whether Anglican, Methodist or Presbyterian, regularly took advantage of the immense volume of books, periodicals and conference reports concerning Christian social problems being generated abroad. Although Anglicans looked to Britain for social guidance, because of the pervasiveness of American opinion and experience in North America, they too were being influenced by the preponderance of American data on social programming and the church.

Social Surveys

The great volume of American literature provided the most serious attempts anywhere to study and analyze the young boy. In particular it counselled the use of the social survey in order to determine the needs of the adolescent, opportunities presently available to youth, and to point the direction for future action. In crowded eastern states, this method of inquiry met with applause as the most up-to-date way of dealing with the vicissitudes of the young boy problem in general and with physical recreation in particular. To make their case, exponents of change needed hard data if they were to convince conservative elements within the church that the new role for protestantism should be one which developed a "constructive and positive Church policy on the question of Recreation and Amusement."[78]

Within the denominations, committee discussion of the issue of recreation was often filled with "considerable debate" and to provide intelligent answers to some of the questions raised, they decided it best to follow the American example. The Methodist and Presbyterian boards of social reform collaborated on a massive, nation-wide survey spanning a period of four years, 1912 - 1916, to gather objective data on social, religious and economic conditions. The Methodist Department of Temperance and Moral Reform put forth the rationale for social surveys which it had itself only recently learned.

> The survey is a measurement according to objective standards of social phenomena, in normal or pathological social life. We note certain objective conditions, and by investigation and deduction may point out probable consequent effects. The social survey makes it clear that sociological problems are not "set up" or imagined by a theorist in his study, but exist in reality. Nor does the scientific investigator become despondent upon the revelation of social disorders, but determines the cause, and is in position to devise and apply adequate remedial measures.[79]

In its search for social relevance, the church undertook this type of scientific objectivity--objectivity which had not been a part of the tradition of individualism of the church. One interesting result of the surveys was that a great deal more was learned of what the church really thought about physical recreation and sport.

The survey of selected urban and rural centres in Canada helped the church find a better perspective from which to judge the success or failure of their physical recreation programs. One thing was immediately evident from the survey results: throughout the country there was a strong interest in most communities in athletic sports, and by and large these were enjoyed in every community, with the Maritimes being most deprived.[80] Urban centres and rural districts shared in this general interest, although sports preferences varied by region. There was some indication that this enthusiasm was not entirely shared by all clerics, but occasionally the church was enthusiastic. London, Ontario, for example, boasted an interdenominational Athletic Association supported by a Men's Federation of the local churches. The social aim of the association was to remedy the two most prevalent evils associated with sport in the London area, namely, that sport was left too much to private enterprise, and that too much stress was laid on winning rather than on the old English ideal of playing the game.[81] The ideals of the association were in harmony with similar organizations across the country, if not in specific details. Its ideals engendered a common code of conduct in Church athletics. Its object was "to unite the young men of the churches of London interested in athletics; to foster amongst them the ideals of amateur sport; to provide for them outdoor recreation according to the season, and to hold once a year a Field Day of Track and field events;" membership in a Sunday School or church was essential, of course.[82] One pernicious activity in particular was singled out for comment in the survey. At the local roller rink, roller skating was encouraging "promiscuous introductions" because of a lack of careful management and oversight of the young skaters."[83]

The primary value of these surveys to the church was that they served to inform. The survey findings reinforced the fact that in Ontario particularly, but in other parts of the country as well, many communities had a highly developed sports delivery system which was really beyond the ability of the church to substantially alter.

Although some social gospellers believed they could intervene to redirect the destiny of sport, such was not the case. They pointed to isolated examples where the church had successfully intervened. For instance, the St. Catharines' District survey showed that Sunday schools had associated athletic activities, though rural areas generally lacked strong participation in young people's societies, but this was not true of urban centres. In the city of St. Catharines itself, the survey reported the recent introduction of a Boys' Church League, for baseball. Eight churches in all were involved, and the sport according to observers, was played with the utmost sportsmanship over the nearly sixty game season. From this example, the survey committee concluded that "under such conditions the associations and influences of such a league are of untold value in the moulding of a boy's character at this formative period in his life."[84] However, from the tenor of responses to questions included in the survey process concerning recreation and sports, there was a considerable amount of preaching against sport and amusement, which was not accompanied by any offsetting positive action.[85] The same could be noted for other centres as well.[86] To these clerics, sport in the secular world offered little hope for its redemption, if it continued to stress winning and related pecuniary interests. Social surveys revealed the bad as well as the good.

The prevalence of pool rooms was a source of complaint in every survey, for the evils associated with them.[87] In fact, the very gathering of social statistics on such lurid operations was perceived by the investigating committees as dangerous, as reported in the Hamilton survey:

> The investigators were present just long enough to make the required observations. . . . Magistrate Jelfs has stated that the worst element among the young men of the city congregates in the pool-rooms, and that in some of them robberies are planned.[88]

Several novel though idealistic proposals to put the pastime under a moral aegis were suggested, including a takeover by the local curling club or the young men's club, so that billiards might be played as in the YMCA, under Christian guidance and supervision.

After the success of the national survey prior to World War I, there was some interest in continuing this form of information gathering after the War. The Presbyterian and Westminster outlined its continuing function.

> A Canadian Survey Movement will attempt with other protestant churches to survey urban and rural areas across Canada. The time is ripe for the securing of information upon which the Church can base its programme and realize its responsibilities.[90]

While no details of this upcoming survey were given, the church's enthusiasm for this type of data gathering had become an integral part of its attempt to find social relevance. Anglicans, as a separate denomination, did not participate cooperatively or independently in such protracted investigations on which it could base its programs and responsibilities. The church instead undertook a limited survey of its own membership in 1919 - 1920. The move was made under the direction of a newly created Council on Young People's Work subordinate to the GBRE, and an organizational meeting was held in Hamilton on October 29, 1919, to establish the policy of the new Council. It determined that the priorities should be: 1) to study the needs of the Young People of the Church, by making a survey of existing conditions; 2) to prepare, as far as possible, a program of education and training for midweek gatherings of young people, in accordance with these needs; and 3) in the preparation of this program, to relate it to similar programs of education and training provided for other departments.[91] The survey, however, was not much more sophisticated than the annual questionnaires sent out by the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in their annual assessment of the state of the Church. But these were important first steps in raising the issues of mind and body--important first steps which gave the Anglican church a better assessment of the physical recreation needs and desires of its communicants. The results of a second similar survey, carried out in the spring of 1923 under the auspices of the Council for Social Services of the Anglican Church were widely circulated in its Bulletin, in a number entitled "The Church and Recreation."[92] The Anglican Church had at last become more serious in its efforts to win the worldly young boy's favour.

The YMCA

Traditionally, all denominations maintained more than a passing interest in the Christian work being done by the YMCA. The church had witnessed the phenomenal growth of this organization in urban areas and acknowledged too the laurels it had garnered for recreational and canteen work during the war years, both in Canada and in Europe. The social surveys pointed out also just how important the YMCA had become in the delivery of community recreational services. While much credit and approbation by community and church for the social and physical work of the organization was apparent throughout the surveyed areas, not all denominations shared equally in this enthusiasm.

Methodists and Presbyterians were the first to extend a cordial hand to the YMCA and encourage their members to enjoy the benefits of the physical programs offered under the supervision of the YMCA. That these denominations had early high esteem for this world-wide organization is shown by the comparison of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, a small Presbyterian society, with the virtues of the YMCA. The rhetorical question was asked: How does the Brotherhood differ from the YMCA? The reply attempted to emphasize non-spiritual issues to some extent, showing concern perhaps that in fact this small Brotherhood which grew out of Young Men's Sunday Morning Bible Class in Toronto in 1901, was seen by Presbyterians as a rather dull affair.

> Like the Y.M.C.A., the Brotherhood aims at saving the whole man--body, soul and spirit, and like the Y.M.C.A., its organization is so simple and flexible that it can be adapted to any local need; but, unlike the Y.M.C.A., the Brotherhood is under the direct control of the church, and is a practical answer to the "man in the street" that the church does not care for him. The church does care; but she must prove it. This organization gives her a chance to do so.[93]

However, this Brotherhood in practice exhibited little or no interest in physical recreation, being inclined instead to emphasize service to the church, daily prayer, and a good measure of fraternal brotherhood.

The YMCA was itself deeply involved in the message of the social gospel, and it was natural that the more evangelical denominations should ally with it for common purposes.[94] Presbyterians first set out to obtain political cooperation with the YMCA on matters of common political concern, as encouraged by its Board of Moral and Social Reform.[95] As the need for greater attention to the physical welfare of boys in church programs became more evident to the church, such an extensive international organization could be of obvious benefit. Besides, the YMCA was enjoying popular growth during this period which denominational young people's societies were not, and this led instinctively to a closer scrutiny of the methods adopted by such a successful Christian organization. It did not take the Board of Moral and Social Reform long to ask the question, "Shall we specialize on work for men and boys?"[96] No other organization knew more on the subject than the YMCA. And in the long term, perhaps no other outside influence would be so strongly felt by the church as that of the YMCA regarding physical recreation.

There were those who insisted that the church itself should take on the responsibility of providing for youth in a fashion similar to the YMCA. "The place for the Y.M.C.A. is in the Church," wrote a contributor to the Era in 1908. "I believe it is high time for the churches to awake to the fact that young people are demanding that the church be more than an auditorium for sermons to tickle the ears of men and women who are content to sit down and listen."

Being careful to point out that "social, educational and amusement inducements must never be permitted to challenge the supremacy of the spiritual," the contributor offered a counter solution to the young boy problem.

> The Athletic Club should be subject to the Executive of the League [Epworth]. I am not a sport, and do not play baseball, but I have always permitted myself to be enthused. I do not think, however, that the League meetings are the proper times to deal with these matters. The best young man I have secured was through his games. Good fishermen try different baits.[97]

The difficulty for both church laymen and clerics alike to adjust to the new social role being entertained as a proper direction for the church is obvious in the contributor's lack of comfort in dealing with the topic. The YMCA felt no such encumbrance.

In reality, however, the church was beginning to cooperate more frequently and deliberately with the YMCA in the provision of physical recreation and social services. The 1912 General Assembly of the Presbyterian church cited one example of closer cooperation in the town of Amherst, Nova Scotia. The Assembly noted that a trained YMCA boy's secretary and a women's social service expert were supported by the town in cooperation with local churches and schools, seeking adolescent "physical and mental development. Attention is given to truancy, to delinquency and indeed to everything concerning the welfare of boys and girls during the years when it is most difficult to hold them in connection with Church life."[96]

The YMCA was also active in student organizations on college campuses and both Methodists and Presbyterians saw immeasurable advantages for the student population, as they believed their devotional and practical exercises did much to foster the spirit of true religion.[99] Off the campus, these denominations encouraged the organization in its efforts, especially the YMCA Week of Prayer held each fall, which the church duly recognized as "stimulating Christian experience, prayer and personal service."[100] During the war, the YMCA launched its greatest campaign to date, entitled the RED TRIANGLE CAMPAIGN and all denominations were asked officially to fall behind its efforts. A natural juncture was thereby provided for the church to review its functional relationship to the YMCA, in all areas of common concern.

The YMCA proposed to expand its efforts beyond urban areas into rural communities where the church had traditionally held prominence. Methodists and Presbyterians found this new planning approach fundamentally sound. The Presbyterian and Westminster in dealing with the issue of "The Y.M.C.A. and the Church," summed up the salient features of their relationship. First noted was the fact that this organization was sometimes criticized because it reached only a certain class.[101] Students and men following commercial occupations were its target population generally to the neglect of manual workers. This was revealed in the social surveys. Concerning the Fort William survey for example, both the YMCA and the CYMA, the Catholic Young Men's Association, were cited as serving only a limited portion of the whole community. The report agreed that the general tendency of these two organizations was towards the upbuilding of young Canadian manhood, but regretted that "similar opportunities are not available for the young new-comers who stand in such great need of them."[102]

Further west in Regina, the observation was again made. The Regina report noted that the YMCA and YWCA offered many "social opportunities to the 'better class' young men and women. The so-called 'working' class young men and women have fewer advantages."[103] One remedy was suggested, that an AAA (Amateur Athletic Association, perhaps within the church) be formed for men who would not go to the YMCA.[104] In London, Ontario, the YMCA had popularized "gymnasium work" and offered to provide leaders to coach boys in their own churches, a few of which, it was noted, had gymnasiums. Again the proliferation of pool rooms was necessarily mentioned, accompanied by the now commonplace view that the YMCA "shows strikingly how different these amusements may be when under different influence,"[105] and it was observed that "most crime is committed during leisure hours,"[106] highlighting once again the importance of effective church involvement in this area. The elite nature of the YMCA in another Ontario town, St. Catharines, was evident in the lament of the investigation committee concerning the inadequate facilities of the YMCA there, and it also underlined that in fact the church had recognized the hegemony of this organization regarding the Christian provision for the physical side of life. The sobering reality of the findings of empirical study was dispelling the idealism of the social gospel, in contrast to Rev. Shore's searching question a decade earlier, "Ought not every Church have its own YMCA or equivalent?"

> It is surprising that a city with a population of over 17,000 should be attempting to serve its young men with a Y.M.C.A. building, which is without a swimming pool, running

> track, boxing or wrestling rooms or lecture hall, and with very limited room in every other particular. This proves a serious handicap to the work which the organization would like to do.[107]

Perhaps the church was undergoing a change of mind? Certainly the committee believed the YMCA should be the legitimate provider of physical recreation, and they could continue to do it more conveniently than could the church. The committee elaborated:

> In this way the Y.M.C.A. would become the recreational centre for all the boys' clubs connected with the churches, as has been so successful in many cities. There is no need of church gymnasiums. One well-equipped gymnasium can take care of all the work.[108]

The value of the social survey especially to the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations was that it kept the church abreast of what was happening within the community at large, enabling it to take better advantage of facilities and programs, which were admittedly outside the church but to which the church could give its commendation.

When the YMCA asked for cooperation from the churches for its planned expansion into rural areas, the Presbyterian and Westminster raised the question of protestant support for the scheme. "Will the churches enter ungrudgingly and whole-heartedly into the co-operation proposed?" asked the periodical of its readership. Believing that they should, the journal cited advantages supporting this viewpoint:

> 1. To regard not merely the religious interests of people, in the narrower sense, but to keep in view the development of the whole personality--physical, mental, spiritual--is recognized as being thoroughly in harmony with the mind and example of Jesus Christ. . . .

> 2. The men who are carrying on this work under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. are, with scarcely an exception, not only Christian men, but faithful churchmen. They can be trusted to be loyal to the things for which the Church stands. . . .
>
> 3. The Church, owing mainly to her denominational divisions, is not, in the meantime at least, in as good a position as an outside organization, to carry on a work which to be successful must enlist the co-operation of the whole community. . . . And so the alternative, as regards these special activities, is not, in most cases, the Y.M.C.A. or the Church; it is the Y.M.C.A. or nothing.
>
> . . . Let us choose to make it a great instrument for developing in the Canadian nation a strong and clean and Christian manhood.[109]

The Presbyterian Church, at least the part in concurrence with the editor of the Presbyterian and Westminster, would believe that the gospel message and physical recreation were not incompatible. In fact, such successful examples of cooperation would lead to much greater cooperation in programming for the physical as well as the spiritual needs of the young. But not everyone within the Presbyterian and Methodist churches gave unqualified support to the YMCA to move wholesale into what had been dominantly the exclusive jurisdiction of the rural church.

The Presbyterian Record found many reasons cited by detractors of the scheme from within the church, but several of these were weak arguments. The YMCA was accused of deviating radically from its original purpose, namely, helping young men. The religious work in the rural community was centered in the rural church and the YMCA scheme would subvert the interest, affection and support of the young from existing churches making the rural minister's work more difficult. The young in rural Canada, it was argued, were the hope of the church of Christ in the future and the church depended upon the religious life of the young being centered in the rural church. Since the YMCA had not yet developed facilities of its own in these areas, difficulty was anticipated in trying to schedule YMCA activities in existing facilities. Furthermore, the rural community had its own diversions and relaxations as pleasant as those of the city and did not need the YMCA.[110] The editor only noted the arguments for and against the extension of YMCA work without giving any firmer idea about the extent to which they were held by the church, stating only that these "are some of the reasons . . . so far as they have appeared."[111]

Officially, however, sanction was being given to support the YMCA. At the Forty-Sixth General Assembly the following year, 1920, the Committee on Coordination unanimously agreed that a standing committee be formed to

> act in an advisory capacity in all matters affecting the relationship of the Y.M.C.A. to the Churches and of the Churches to the Y.M.C.A., and that a copy of this resolution be sent to each body represented in this conference for their approval and appointment of delegates.[112]

Represented were Baptist, Congregationalist, Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches, and the YMCA. The latter organization was demonstrating a formative influence on the denominations in general and on the young people's societies of the churches in particular. The following year a joint committee on young people's work was established, with a mandate to examine even more rigorously the young boy problem. The idea had been solidifying for some time and involved all protestant denominations. Youth and Service explained:

> For some time leaders in work with young men and women all over North America have been carefully examining existing programmes and types of organization for young people. A few months ago a group of Canadian leaders, representing the Young People's Societies of the various denominations, such as the A.Y.P.A., the B.Y.P.A. [Baptist], the Westminster Guild, the Christian Endeavor, and the Epworth League, and also the Sunday School organizations and the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., met informally to study the question of a programme for young people that might be used with necessary modifications by all these bodies. Several meetings were held, and some progress was made. In January action was taken to form a permanent joint committee on young people's programme, and it is hoped that this committee will make progress in its important work as rapidly as possible.[113]

There were indications, however, that the churches were becoming increasingly concerned about the spiritual nature of the young in the post-war social milieu. For one thing there was no mistaking that the guiding principles setout by the committee were anything but thoroughly religious in emphasis, which fundamentally acknowledged other aspects of the individual but kept the prime purpose of the church to the fore. The main features of the envisioned program included: 1) study--bible, missions, teacher training, community needs, etc.; 2) worship--church services, young people's meetings, private devotion; 3) service--active participation in church and community work; and 4) social life--fellowship and special meetings.[114] The underlying assumption was that in providing fully for their requirements, it was expected that young people would participate in church services, meetings for study, and meetings for training and fellowship.[115] The difficulty in accepting the YMCA was that it was too concerned with the physical to suit the inclination of the denominations who saw their purpose as spiritual. The reasons given by those not supporting the move of the organization into rural areas indicated that the church was quite concerned with the spiritual welfare of these communities. The YMCA had traditionally laid considerable stress on its physical department, but at this time there was little indication that, within the denominations, this passion for greater care of the body was a dominating influence over the minds of church leaders in young people's work. In the post-war planning period, there appeared to be an increased awareness of the need for spiritual guidance furthered by the decline of the social gospel.

The Anglican church in Canada was also represented on the Standing Committee, but they had shown the least sympathy for the spread of this organization and its "YMCA methods." In fact, Anglicans on occasion would use this closer harmony in spirit between the denominations and the YMCA as a point of attack when passing judgment on them.[116] Anglicans were divided on the issue of support and cooperation with the YMCA. The attitude of many Anglicans towards the YMCA might also be representative of the feelings of conservatives in the more evangelical denominations untouched by the social gospel message towards physical recreation.

An editorial on the development of Church Institutes in England provided the editor of the Canadian Churchman in 1903, opportunity to speak on the benefits of such organizations in England, and, in the editor's opinion, their Canadian equivalent, the emerging YMCA.

> These institutes aim at promoting the religious, intellectual, social and physical welfare of their members. They organize classes and lectures, provide amusement and recreation, and, by giving access to a gymnasium and baths, provide for the physical well-being of the members. They are in large towns of

> great benefit in breaking down a narrow congregationalism, and in bringing the churchmen of the town into closer touch and more frequent intercourse with each other. They are, in short, to churchmen what the Young Men's Christian Association is to the undenominationalist. . . . Excellent as the Y.M.C.A. is in many of its features, and helpful as many a young man may find it in a large city, it has this advantage to a Churchman, that so far as it deals with doctrine and worship it does so from a dissenting, or undenominational standpoint, and not from that of an intelligent and loyal Churchman. To us this is a radical defect, and must tend to make young Churchmen in such an environment less attached to the doctrine, discipline and worship of their own household of faith. The Church of England has marked denominational features and characteristics, and if her young members are thrown in close association with those, who, however sincere, seriously differ from them in religious thought and methods, they cannot but be affected by the atmosphere they breathe and the associates they meet with. In a word, the Young Men's Christian Association is more congenial to the Nonconformist and the Undenominationalist than it can possibly be to the Anglican Churchman, and in the practical working out must be more helpful in building up Nonconformity than in extending the influence of the Church of England.[117]

The author continued noting the existence of a Church of England Institute in Halifax, suggesting that this type of organization should be built up and receive the patronage of Anglicans. The objectives of another Maritime Institute, at St. John, showed what might be expected of such institutes if they were developed further in Canada. Its purpose was to unite churchmen in promoting: 1) the advancement of religion in accordance with the principles of the Church of England; 2) the encouragement of kindly intercourse among its members; 3) the diffusion of general knowledge in subordination to religion; and 4) the provision of innocent recreation and amusement.[118] These ideals were similar to those of the YMCA, but in practice, as one less enthusiastic Anglican noted, the Institutes established on Canadian soil were essentially only reading rooms.[119]

Anglicans expressed diametrically opposite views concerning the YMCA. Anglicans on one extreme believed the organization was providing needed recreational opportunities without in any way interfering with the integrity of the Church of England. The laying on May 14, 1912, of the cornerstone of a new central YMCA building in Toronto provided such an occasion for support. Lauding the accomplishments of the organization, one Anglican observer later added:

> There is a happy unity in the Association activities which obliterates the denominational differences. There has been much talk of Church unity in recent times, but the Y.M.C.A. has been practicing it for nearly seventy years. Loyal to the Church, usurping none of the Church's functions, it binds together the men of all faiths for the service of their fellow man. While it is Christian to the core, it opens its door widely to all. Its buildings and its activities give substance and reality to the good impulses and desires of those who wish to help young men to fight a winning battle, each one with strength as the strength of ten because his heart is pure.[120]

However, there was concern from some Anglican supporters of the YMCA that it might be leading Anglicans away from the church. This concern was evident in the remarks of another contributor to the Canadian Churchman regarding the view that physical recreation was not the mandate of the church and should be left to outside agencies.

> It is certainly no part of the duty of the Catholic Church, or of the denominations, commonly called churches, which it contains, or of the congregations or churches which make up such denominations, to provide tennis lawns, gymnasiums, swimming baths or concerts for young people, nor do I suppose that what some of the young people are reported to have said, means that they would leave the Catholic Church as above defined to obtain such things.[121]

The social gospel message was not sustained by those who believed that the church had a spiritual function only, to "preach the Gospel, and to teach all to observe the commandments of her Founder."[122]

This contributor argued that physical recreation was "no part of the duty of the Catholic Church," instead the answer was to "cultivate the closest and most friendly relations with the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., and work with and through them, as far as possible, in connection with amusements and recreations."[123] The Canadian Churchman endorsed greater cooperation with the Association particularly as the organization, the editor felt prophetically, would emerge an even greater community force following the War. Traditionally the Church of England had not supported the YMCA, but its physical recreation work was well known to the denomination. "The attitude of the Church of England towards it in the past has not always been entirely sympathetic, although large numbers of its supporters, both among clergy and laymen, are and have been Anglicans." In light of limited recreation programming within the church, the editor felt that the YMCA should be given more encouragement both by Anglicans and those in the other denominations.

> By surrounding young men with a Christian atmosphere and at the same time providing them with opportunities for recreation and social intercourse, it is doing a most valuable piece of work, a work that cannot be done as well, and need not be done, by any one denomination by itself.[124]

The commencement of the RED TRIANGLE CAMPAIGN by the YMCA brought out the strongest indictments of the usefulness of the YMCA to the Church of England. After an initial sharp reaction, the issue of a rural YMCA faded but this reaction showed the other extreme side of Anglican opinion and underscored the traditional antagonism between the Church of England and the YMCA. There was no social gospel rhetoric to be found in the words of those opposed to the Association.

> There is more spiritual life in the atmosphere surrounding a Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, or Holy Roller congregation, where at least definiteness as to the Son of God is sometimes taught, than in the vacuum of so-called Christian fellowship which strives through one hundred and one pleasantries to bring men to a knowledge of the truth. Give a non-religious man the use of a billiard table, a swimming pool, and an active cafeteria, and he will never hope for help from either the doctrines or practices of the Church of England. The rite of admission to the Y.M.C.A. is the payment of the member's fee.[125]

A flurry of counteracting rebuttals followed which indicated the church was changing its position but this could not deny that among the conservative elements in the Anglican church, the physical recreation work of the Association was not viewed positively.

At this time the spirit of social change was by no means dead. Of course, there were those who preferred that the church look after its spiritual commission to the exclusion of all other considerations no matter how worthwhile they might inherently be. Many social gospellers, however, wanted to go beyond mere encouragement of the physical work program within the YMCA and suggested instead direct involvement by the church in this area. Ironically, it was YMCA initiative which found a compromise program more acceptable to evangelical and conservative alike: one which attempted encouragement of a basic recognition of all aspects of life--body, mind and spirit--but which offered some flexibility of interpretation.

The program which evolved was the Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests (CSET), a program encompassing four categories: Intellectual, Physical, Religious or Devotional, and Social (also referred to as Service). In planning the program the YMCA sought advice from an eminent American educational psychologist, Herman H. Horne, who recommended that a balanced program was essential, and so the YMCA's old fourfold formula was adopted.[126] The first edition of the tests appeared in October 1912, and while the fourth edition was being prepared, under the direction of the Boys' Work Committee of the National Council of the YMCA, the suggestion came to the committee that if the plan were made progressive and more comprehensive, it might become the accepted program of work for teen-age boys in Canadian Sunday schools.[127] The denominations responded by appointing a number of prominent secretaries from the various Sunday school commissions to assist in adapting this YMCA program to meet the needs of the churches. These included Rev. R. A. Hiltz, an Anglican, Rev. R. L. Farewell, a Methodist, and Rev. C. A. Myers, a Presbyterian.[128] Several of the denominations were optimistic from the beginning,[129] but were advised that the spiritual aspect of the program should not be dominated by any other.[130] The most liberal of all denominations encouraged CSET for its potential benefits. The immediate value of the tests was that it secured a broadened weekday program within the church; one which continued to be expanded into the post-war reconstruction period. Its virtue was that it provided the church with a regimented format, readily adaptable to suit most parishes, and more importantly, compatible with the protestant mentality concerning physical recreation. Even the social gospel could not erase among its adherents that traditional love of order, implying as Barker had noted, that to the protestant denominations form was as important as content.[131]

While there was general acceptance of this program in all denominations during its first years of application, this acceptance was by no means universal. Moreover, its specific use was somewhat restricted if statistical data on potential and actual users is interpreted correctly. Macleod in his study of adolescence and the YMCA during the period of the social gospel, claimed that the program proved hopelessly cumbersome and attracted only 13,421 boys in 1919.[132] Other statistical evidence indicates that the percentage of youth involved in church organizations based solely on the principles of CSET, namely Tuxis and Trail Rangers, was small.[133] Of a survey of boys in Toronto in 1921, only 4.4% of protestant adolescents were members of Tuxis and Trail Rangers. The survey also showed that an incredible 91% of Toronto boys attended Sunday school, a tribute, no doubt, to "Toronto the Good."[134] This program, however, was but part of a broader one in which the church was actively searching for appropriate social programming in order for it to reach larger proportions of the adolescent group.

During the war years particularly, the campaign to broaden the use of the CSET program gained considerable momentum. The scheme never proved a success at the Sunday school level, but more evangelical denominations did officially encourage its adoption by groups other than Sunday schools. Its name was changed to Canadian Standard Efficiency Training in 1918 to suit the spirit of the times and, with slight amendments to the format, its use was encouraged in all denominational organizations. Several claims for its benefits were made, such as that by the Board of Sabbath Schools and Young People's

Societies to the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1924:

> Before the War, Young People's Work was developing normally at a rather modest rate. Immediately on the outbreak of the War, Young Men's Bible Classes and Young People's Societies melted away, in many cases not a single eligible man being left. Even as late as 1917 the decreases reached a total of nearly 200 organizations and nearly 9000 members. Fortunately just before the outbreak of the War a remarkable forward movement began in connection with work among Older Boys and Girls (12 - 18 years of age) which has continued to develop in the C.S.E.T. and C.G.I.T. [girls equivalent program] movements and which has done much to help make possible the marked growth of Young People's Work (18 - 24), during the six year period 1917 - 1922.[135]

The CSET program was credited in the Presbyterian church with significant importance. Growth in PYPA membership increased from 42,000 to 97,000 during the period 1917 to 1922. This represented not only a substantial increase in size of young people's organizations, but these figures included only those organizations reported to be conducting midweek activities.[136] Methodists, too, approved of the increased use of the scheme. The Eleventh General Conference that year reported considerable optimism for it: "We rejoice in the increased interest being manifested in week-day religious instruction. . . . The C.S.E.T. and C.G.I.T. programmes are most heartily commended for the broad and efficient training which is embodied in them."[137] The gospel message of the church's greater involvement in social planning and social regeneration had taken root; it remained to be seen if with it came a changed attitude about the higher recognition of the body and the use for physical recreation in Canadian protestantism which the social gospel also encouraged.

In the ranks of Methodism, proselytizing the virtues of the CSET program was more a matter of education than one of conversion.

There seemed to be little open hostility to this YMCA-sponsored program and progress of the organization was reported in its youth periodicals from time to time. A lengthy article appeared in Youth and Service, as an example, giving an overview of its historical development to 1916.

> During the last twenty-five years many efforts have been put forth in behalf of 'teen age boys. Boys' Brigades, Boy Scouts, Knights of King Arthur and a score or more of boys' organizations have been promoted and have done much not only to help boys, but also to determine correct methods in boys' work. These experiments have been carried on along two general lines. One in connection with the churches through the denominational and interdenominational Sunday-school boards and culminating in the appointment of a Commission on the 'Teen Age some years ago. The other in connection with the Y.M.C.A. and culminating in the investigation into boy life made by the Men and Religion Movement.
>
> . . . This Committee [Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests Committee of the YMCA including interdenominational support] has developed the programme until it is now the recognized programme of work for 'teen-age boys in the Protestant churches, Y.M.C.A. and Sunday-school associations of Canada.
>
> We can scarcely overestimate the value of setting up such a national ideal.[138]

The serenity with which liberal Methodism accepted the scheme contrasted with the reaction some Anglicans felt towards it.

Tied up with Anglican opinion of the value of CSET were broader questions dealing with the requirements of the Anglican communion and acceptable outside agencies which could meet the high aspirations of the denomination. Comparison of the YMCA, and its novel program, with the Boy Scouts, the traditional favourite of the Anglican church for resolving the boy problem, created tension in discussions on the issue.

The reporting of the YMCA-sponsored "Coast to Coast Boys

Work Conference" held in Toronto in the fall of 1916 served to bring out some of the latent issues concerning CSET. The Canadian Churchman observed and reported on most of the details. A number of issues were raised by the article on the conference, which noted the absence of any Anglican leaders in boys work, pointing up the slowness with which Anglicans were becoming involved in CSET compared to other denominations. The Churchman elaborated:

> Every denomination had its leader, and expert in boys' work, who could answer questions, and assist in planning for the future work. We few Anglicans who met together [ten percent of the total as reported in a subsequent article] not only missed this very necessary part of assistance, but missed that feeling of unity in this national effort to serve the boys.[139]

The editor followed with a message of endorsement.

> Boys' Leaders--We endorse most heartily what was said by one of our correspondents in last week's issue regarding the need of greater interest on the part of the Church in the efforts to develop leaders in boys' work. Considerable was done along this line by the Brotherhood of St. Andrew but, unfortunately, this has been allowed in the main to cease. The Church, through the Sunday School Commission, has the machinery that is needed but here we are handicapped by lack of funds. One result of this, as was pointed out, is that many of our boys lose interest and drift away from the Church. In the past the "Boy Problem" was regarded by many as a hopeless one. We know to-day that it is most hopeful, provided we can get proper leaders. . . . Would it not be wise, though, to extend the same spirit [of philanthropy] to the activities that are striving to lay better foundations for the future of both Church and State? "Better a fence at the top of a cliff than an ambulance at the foot."[140]

After the program had been in operation for some time additional support came from those who had had personal experience with it. Such leaders saw the benefit of a midweek program in maintaining the allegiance of the young boy, and as to the program content itself:

> I think the reason why so many church clubs fail is because they are only for social amusement, and not aiming at anything higher. The Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests forms a splendid programme. . . . The meeting is opened with prayer and a Bible discussion for half an hour. Afterwards, they come together for a helpful talk, then some tests are taken, or debates on live topics, after which we play group games. Once a month we have beans, each group having a table by themselves, so they can give their yells, etc., after which an address is given. During the season the fellows play inter-church and inter-group games of hockey, indoor and outdoor baseball. What is the result? Through the grace of God we are holding our fellows and increasing our attendance 15 per cent.[141]

The CSET program did not limit participation in physical recreation to that prescribed in the tests. Numerous similar articles lauding the advantages of the CSET program appeared for the next few years until interest in this social program dominated all other social editorial interests. Clubs gave examples of their entire year's program under the scheme, in both written and tabular format.[142] The YMCA CSET program, treated liberally with the blessings of the editor,[143] was uncharacteristically applauded as a sound program and liberal Anglicans were responding.

Coeval with this sudden interest in the CSET program the YMCA launched its RED TRIANGLE CAMPAIGN and the cracks began to appear in the foundation laid by the church media. One antagonist issued his opinion of the YMCA with a certain invective.

> We are asked to believe that this wonderfully organized force, so modern in social spirit, so broad in its activities, is to be necessary to the working of a "successful" church. Success is found in the achievement of ideals. . . . Here the Anglican Church fundamentally differs from the Y.M.C.A. With Christ's promised Presence enshrined in the Word and the Sacraments, the Church presents this Ideal to the world, leaving the results to the Holy Spirit. Whereas the supporters of

> the Red Triangle labour nobly in the twilight of good works, marking success by increase of membership.[144]

Meanwhile, could the Anglican church be adopting YMCA methods? Full-page advertisements appeared in the Canadian Churchman selling the principle of the CSET program with its ideal format[145] of having a four-fold program offering a broader scope for work with boys. Protagonists of the scheme were encouraged to speak out in its favour. The well-known Canadian cleric, Rev. Dr. J. L. Carroll, spoke highly of the scheme. "The C.S.E.T. is the only efficient method that we have today which gives us the key to leadership for the days to come." Concerning the athletic or physical portion of the program, he concluded: "Our athletic events give us a point of contact with every normal boy. This feature does not predominate, but is only one of many useful incidents. The great ideal we hold up is service--Jesus was the greatest servant of mankind."[146] There were a few discordant opinions coming forward which kept the issue alive.

> Sir,--Without hesitation I can, for myself, answer "Superintendent's" question about the C.S.E.T. "The boy,"--the wholesome, red-blooded boy--has no use for it. As a training in priggishness, unwholesome self-consciousness, goody-goodyness, nothing could be more effective. . . . I would not care to have the C.S.E.T. method adopted in my Sunday School, or in any boys' society for which I was personally responsible.

And as to the suggested alternative:

> It seems to me that the Church in Canada is missing a grand opportunity in the Boy Scout movement. . . . It appeals to all that is best in the boy and develops his sense of duty, honor, altruism, individual responsibility and usefulness to others and to himself. It is comprehensive and has contact with every interest of a boy's life. As an auxilliary to Church training and Sunday School work, as well as a means of training in good citizenship, there is nothing else as good.[147]

Others condemned the program outright. "If any of your readers imagine that all they have to do to solve for themselves the boy problem is to adopt the C.S.E.T., they had better do a little more thinking."[140]

Significantly, "Spectator," the weekly commentator on subjects of public interest and one who was, perhaps, as liberal as his readership, moved cautiously on the issue. Noting that the denominations own Sunday School Commission was lending its weight behind boys' conferences, he sounded his concern that the spiritual aspects of the CSET program were not necessarily beneficial if the boy leaders were themselves not up to "standard efficiency." In his characteristic style, he wondered if the program was just a little too much of a production:

> In addition to all this the existence of a top-heavy organization with committee and sub-committee to the third and fourth degree; with managers and secretaries without number, with buttons and badges galore, with reams of letters and stamps to correspond, we seem to be overrun by an imported system that is wholly unsuited to the genius and judgment of our people.[149]

His motivation was more to support the Boy Scout movement against derision, than to show any dominant dislike for CSET in which he may have had little personal experience. "Spectator" elaborated on his opinions during the following weeks.

> It is apparent that the tests are an essential part of the scheme, not a mere accessory. The leader is expected to "chart" the boys progress or retrogression. We are quite familiar with physical tests--chest expansion, running ability, etc.--and we can soon settle those. Intellectual tests may very easily be applied by an examination on books or nature. Social tests are a little more difficult and undefined, but presumably one can arrive at some general conclusion as to how a boy gets on with his neighbours. . . . The thing, however, that bothers "Spectator," and evidently bothers many thinking people who are keenly interested in boys, is the efficacy and the wisdom of spiritual tests. . . .

> In the judgment of "Spectator" no such difficulty as has been pointed out above arises out of the fundamental structure of the Boy Scouts. This organization may seem to emphasize, too fully, the intellectual and physical side of the boy to the neglect of the spiritual, but that would depend entirely upon the Scoutmaster.[150]

In their zeal to applaud this new form of control, ambassadors of the CSET movement often unnecessarily degraded the Scouting movement, and there was no quicker way to raise the ire of many Anglicans than to follow that ill-advised course of action. Prudence did prevail, however, as several contributors attempted to act as peacemakers and balance the scales by reason. One such contributor concluded: "In reading the various letters written in commendation of the Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests, it seems to me that the Boy Scout Movement has been criticized unfairly by some and not been given its due praise by others."[151] In their desire to find a new course for Anglican youth work, many directly compared these forms of programming. Supporters of CSET criticized the Boy Scouts as not offering a broad enough program:

> We have the Lad's Brigade and the Boy Scouts, and, as an assistant Scout Master, I agree that they are splendid things, but do not cover the ground necessary to make a man, both physically and spiritually. They uphold splendid ideals, but they spend most of their energies on the physical side of the boy.[152]

Others criticized the Scouts as well for being too narrow in their approach to boys work. "If the Church Lad's Brigade and the Boy Scouts are doing this same thing for the Canadian Church in a definite and nation-wide manner, I have yet to hear of it. The C.S.E.T. takes time and consecration."[153] Others would agree.

> The Anglican Church has not as yet realized the great issue at stake in not whole-heartedly supporting this work [CSET].

> But it is a great pleasure to the Anglican boys already interested in this movement to see church after church adopting it. Many of these churches have tried the Boys' Brigade, the Boy Scouts and other movements, but have found something lacking which they have apparently found in the C.S.E.T. Movement.[154]

There were essential differences between these apparently divergent programs, the CSET and the Scout Movement, which would not be reconciled, especially regarding the physical program each engendered.[155]

Perhaps it was a minority of Anglicans who supported CSET, but these were split between those who accepted both forms of program and those who were highly favourable to CSET as a substitute for the Boy Scouts.[156] Despite charges of undenominationalism in its methods, and that "Y.M.C.A. methods are not the Church's methods," many were eager to enlist these YMCA methods to help in the resolution of the young boy problem even at the expense of the Boy Scouts. But for the time being antagonism had been created, and those supporting opposing schemes continued their war of words for a while yet.

The CSET program was changed during the period 1914 - 1916, to respond to the wishes of the church for a broadly based program but one which did not undermine the importance of a spiritual life. During the war years, the double billing given the program by the denominations indicated its appropriateness in that time of national mobilization. After the war, however, this YMCA-sponsored program fell into relative obscurity although it later became the basis on which the Tuxis and Trail Rangers training programs were developed. These became the backbone of weekday training within the United Church of Canada until 1953. A Toronto survey in 1921 indicated that membership in Tuxis and Trail Rangers was half that for either the YMCA or the Boy Scouts, a survey which took into account all protestant denominations and others.[157] But what this survey does not show is the intense concern which was generated around issues relating to the provision of denominational weekday activities; nor do they give any firsthand impression about the provision of physical recreation within the aegis of the church. The growth of a Canadian social gospel raised the level of awareness concerning social issues, broadly speaking, and this process was significantly affected by influences outside the immediate realm of the congregation.

In the end, the experience of efforts on two continents to solve the boy problem came to bear upon the Canadian understanding of the problem and the solutions which were felt necessary for its resolution. Christian social programmers drew upon many avenues of support, international and domestic, in order to study the adolescent and provide a guide to positive action.

Sports and Games

The literature of adolescence was used as a primer by social gospellers in their search for an appropriate social image of physical recreation and sport. They sought in this literature greater understanding of amusement, recreation, and sport, terms which were basic to the social study of physical recreation. But these terms were by no means consistently applied. In fact, they were on occasion used interchangeably, which further complicated the task of developing a social philosophy towards physical recreation and sport.

However, the use of such terms often implied expected or anticipated outcomes from involvement with physical activity--a retrenchment from immoral behavior, better church attendance, greater national patriotism, better sportsmanship or fair play--as well as demonstrating an interest in the social benefits of play, health and athletics. The historic church with its "gymnasium and showerbath" mentality had shown meagre interest in the meaning behind such popular terms. The passion of the social gospel moved to change the tradition of the church.

By far the most ubiquitous term applying to physical recreation was that of amusement. The word carried, however, a moral connotation and for this reason it was especially preferred in Presbyterian literature. In order to measure the morality of such things as their amusements, Presbyterians in keeping with their literary traditions displayed a penchant for rhymes, vignettes and charts which would ostensibly point the way. Whether or not they were effective, they left little doubt of the religious mission amusements were to serve. The Presbyterian Record, characteristically reprinting from another periodical, the Christian Commonwealth, provided such a measure, a seven step test to guide its turn-of-the-century readership.

How to Test Amusements

> First--Do they rest and strengthen, or weary and weaken, the body?
> Second--To they strengthen and rest, or weary and weaken, the brain?
> Third--Do they make resistance to temptation easier or harder?
> Fourth--Do they increase or lessen love for virtue, purity, temperance and justice?

> Fifth--Do they give inspiration and quicken enthusiasm, or
>   stupefy the intellectual and harden the moral nature?
> Sixth--Do they increase or diminish respect for manhood and
>   womanhood?
> Seventh--Do they draw one nearer to, or remove one farther from,
>   the Christ?[158]

But these were inadequate attempts to deal either with the young boy problem or the issue of proper amusement. They were more a literary convention than an attempt to seriously study a problem. Such schemes were characteristically more proscriptive than prescriptive, exemplifying rather a negativism towards amusement, resulting from a lack of involvement by the church in that area.

The growing concern of the church was that it become more involved in understanding and defining such terms as amusement, recreation and sport, as the young boy problem began to emerge as a central theme in the social platform of the denominations. The church was needed. As one astute observer commented with reference to the increased carelessness with which young people were coming to regard their religion: "Most young people, when not reminded of religion, think of amusement."[159] Such statements tended to encourage extreme views, promoting either a denunciation of amusement, or, in the case of those interested in promoting "practical Christianity," encouraging the study of it, with a view to becoming involved. Indeed, the upsurge of interest in young people's societies at this time served not only to counteract the tendency of the unconfirmed to fall into "carelessness of living"[160] but served also to counteract what the church too often saw in other societies, namely, that "young people's unions degenerate into mere gatherings for a poor kind of mutual amusement, often not at all of an uplifting sort."[161] With the rise of the young people's society came the need for understanding and definition of this popularly misunderstood term.

As interest in the social gospel quickened, the need for a more informed view of physical recreation emerged. Social gospel panegyric was reaching its heights in the years immediately before World War I and at the same time the church began to probe more earnestly the meaning of such terms as "amusement" and "recreation" for possible benefits for its social program. The Presbyterian Record in its July citizenship topic for 1913 examined "Public Amusements: Their Use and Abuse." The author of the article, Toronto cleric, Rev. J. W. Stephen, considered the definition of amusement.

> The legitimacy of amusement in itself cannot be denied. Nature demands relaxation. The bow cannot always remain strung. "Amusement," as the word implies, is plainly a turning away from the Muses--a temporary suspension of the more serious tasks of life.

Encouraged by a recent visit to Toronto by Jacob Riis, the American authority on playgrounds, Stephen continued reinforcing the popular belief that where playgrounds and innocent amusement were provided crime was materially reduced and a healthy law-abiding citizenry was the logical result. Stephen believed that the need for amusement was further reinforced by the character of the age.[162]

The popular understanding of the word "amusement" included such diverse activities as athletics, the race course, the theatre, dancing and card-playing. Examining athletics in particular, Stephen considered its virtues in history: the Greeks had recognized the important place of the stadium in building a virile manhood; the universities of the day were using athletics in preparing men for the battlefield of life, and writers on Eugenics were finding that "starved nerves create unhealthy appetites resulting in the deterioration of the race."[163] Athletics undoubtedly produced strong muscles, but also, it was believed, self-control, sound judgment, and chivalrous consideration for others. Its potential for promoting such Christian ideals appeared boundless.

In practice, however, there were problems as athletics did not always take the path of virtue. But undismayed, Stephen continued. "It is not to be inferred, however, that the domain of sports is to be deserted by the Church and left to the enemy. In Bible classes and boys' clubs it should be possible to so inculcate Christian chivalry as to raise the whole standard of athletics in a community."[164] Such was the aspiration of one social gospeller. That this was most likely to happen only under the aegis of the church or properly supervised community associations was emphasized by the Methodist Department of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church. Its 1913 report to the General Conference noted: "As an antidote to impure entertainment and brutalizing sport, we would urge our ministers and people to encourage all clean, healthy, recreation pleasure, especially among our young people." The report recommended further that communities should provide social centres where proper recreation under careful supervision may be enjoyed.[165] The cooperative launching of a successful nation-wide social survey by the Methodist and Presbyterian churches no doubt encouraged the latter view of a wider provision of amusement and recreation.

A further insight into the understanding and use of amusements is collected by Rev. W. R. McIntosh's discussion of "Religion and Amusement," the Presbyterian young people's society topic for the week of July 19, in the following year, 1914. "Religion and amusements have often been regarded as enemies," he began.[166] He believed a confessor of the former did not enter into the latter for fear of allying with the trinity of evils that are opposed to God: the world, the flesh and the devil. But a change had been effected over this somewhat historic view, the result of recent scientific and pedagogical influences. "'Religion' and 'Play,'" McIntosh continued, "instead of standing face to face, fighting each other, are getting back to back in the common fight for the welfare of youth, and are both regarded as essential factors in the making of men and nations."[167] Stressing the play aspect of amusement, as had Stephen, he noted the recent exaltation of play to the rank of a profession, while liberally quoting the American Playground Association. The duty of the church was to encourage wholesome amusement, and furthermore to redeem the world of amusement, to reclaim the play life of the community for God.[168] The social gospel rhetoric flowed rampant:

> The dream of the future is that all the kingdoms of this world are to become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ. This means the social as well as the geographic kingdoms. So that those who toil for the making of better men and women, for sounder bodies, better controlled minds, brighter spirits and better disciplined characters, through the control and development of the people's recreations and amusements, will have the right at last to join with God's coworkers in all other departments of social service, in the chorus that never ends.[169]

This notion of the importance of the playground in character development was by no means uncommon, but it received a wider audience with acceptance of the social mission of the church. The importance of the playground as one ameliorator of social problems was fundamentally sound, but in their zeal at times, social gospellers asked impossible demands of it as a general catharsis for all ages.[170] MacIntosh, too, asked for an outstanding change of attitude. "Then we have too long and too often overlooked the 'ethical' significance of play and sport. So much is this the case that play should be considered as a form of social service rather than a more or less questionable aside of life."[171] There was much truth in restating the traditional hostility of religion and amusement, and perhaps too the social gospel had an impossible mission or at least an impractical message concerning the church's provision of physical recreation.

Conservative protestants found it difficult to accept that the church had a responsibility to provide any social activities let alone the provision of amusements. Concerning "Church Amusements" one Anglican cleric responded to the tendency to liberalize the definition of what was properly church work:

> After the question of where the duty rests to provide recreation, comes that of consideration of the importance, need and ability for making such provision.
>
> I have had in my ministry singing classes, health clubs, tennis clubs, socials, entertainments, picnics, etc. I realized after some years that I was neglecting the souls of the people for the sake of their bodily, mental and social improvement. . . . Finally, I concluded spiritual work had to take the first place with me whoever was pleased or displeased, and of late years I have been very sparing in the matter of giving time and energy to amusing and providing amusements for the people.

> It seems to me also that the church should be very circumspect as to the nature of its provision along these lines. . . .
>
> Compare James 4 with Colossians 4, and I think one can hardly conclude otherwise than that the Church is rather to pray than to amuse.[172]

Though this view could find supporters from any denomination, many Anglicans were suspicious of amusements within the church.

As Anglicanism came to adopt the social gospel for its own, a more liberal assessment of the place and necessity of amusement became more commonplace in its communion. The Most Rev. G. Thorneloe was invited to give his opinions on amusement in the church, but only on a limited aspect of the term.[173] He outlined a few principles consistent with the more evangelical denominations. The religion of the church was primarily a religion of joy, not of gloom; the church did not deny amusements but left to the individual conscience which amusements should be pursued. Taking an approach uniting social Darwinism and environmentalism, he believed such a philosophy was in keeping with the "religion of nature" stressing the wholeness of man, one in body, mind and spirit. But there were limitations. "Recreation and amusement are not ends in themselves. They are chiefly aids to work."[174] The latter view, however, is not particularly ascribed to the social gospel, which instead stressed the social imperatives and the social consequences of action, not the view that work was a religious imperative. But in context this view was liberal as well, in contrast to earlier views that encouraged a substitution of work for amusement, an ethic that did not give way easily to a more progressive view.[175]

An editorial in the Globe sparked the editor of the Presbyterian and Westminster to give his opinion on how to successfully unite the two apparently divergent topics, work and amusement. While noting that the Canadian youth was absorbed with his athletics, and even admitting that the devotion to sport can be beneficial, he supported the "sport" of gardening, of making "play out of work."

> Games and sports have an attraction of their own, especially for the young, that cannot be found elsewhere, and it is probable that certain benefits are to be derived from them that cannot be obtained otherwise. But we are confident that many people would be surprised if they knew how much real pleasure, as well as physical advantage, is to be found in occupations which, upon the surface, may appear to be simply forms of labor. We speak, of course, particularly to those who are not regularly engaged in physical work.
>
> . . . Speaking from some experience we have no hesitation in commending gardening as a substitute for golf or a variation from bowling. . . .
>
> Of the physical benefits of gardening it is impossible to speak too highly. There is great variety in the work, and this is an advantage not only because it introduces the element of change, but because it provides exercise for all the various muscles of the body.[176]

Not everyone carried the same interpretation of an invigorated concern for physical recreation within the church, but the editor seemed to be on the right track. Thornloe stressed that the Anglican church could not afford to ignore the elementary truth that there was a legitimate place for amusement within the church, and not solely as a subtle form of work. He also observed that as far as accepting and providing for amusement, the "Church had shown less than her usual wisdom"[177] in the past.

Presbyterians had the strongest views about which amusements were worthy of support. In an attempt to guide youth on this subject, a Montreal Presbyterian, Rev. B. S. Black wrote "Amusement That Is Worth While" as the Young People's Society topic for the week of January 23, 1916. While noting that physical recreation, relaxation, and amusement had a legitimate place in society, he stressed that amusements must build up morally or they are not worthwhile. The main principles to follow, Black concluded, were: 1) Amusements must be servants, not masters; 2) No Christian had the right to injure others; and 3) Body, mind and spirit must be considered when choosing amusements.[178] The message concerning the servitude of sport or amusement emphasized that when amusements get undue prominence, then the "extravagance and dissipation they create are the signs of national decline and decay."[179] Under such a philosophy the growth of sport as a national cultural institution would be difficult at best. Presbyterians did not counsel combative or bodily contact sports or amusements such as boxing and wrestling, as fit sports for anyone. Black emphasized that amusement must consider all aspects of existence--body, mind and soul. This philosophy did not permit concentration on sport. His comments were directed at professional sport but also applied to over indulgence in amateur sport as well.

Healthy outdoor exercise seemed best to fulfill the needs of Presbyterian youth, and this only as part of a broader program, one which included reading and higher spiritual concerns. Black believed that the acceptability of amusement was determined by the attitude of participants, especially their attitude towards pleasure. "To be always running after pleasure betokens a low type of humanity. Youth should be happy, but serious, too. Continued levity emasculates the soul. To be ever cackling may befit a goose, but not a man."[180] Obviously Presbyterians had some difficulty in adopting the social gospel concept of the necessity in the scheme of things for legitimate amusement accompanied by a spiritual commitment to ensure that the body was not neglected.

This view contrasts somewhat with the Methodist outlook. The report of the Committee on City Problems of the Methodist Department of Social Service and Evangelism in 1918, saw a much higher place for amusement.

> The church must recognize more than ever the legitimate demand for amusement. Play has its part in the life of a normal individual, and in some aspects may be as necessary as to pray. The amusements of the people if properly supervised are a means of education and character development.[181]

Methodists tended to prefer the term "recreation" to that of "amusement," indicating, perhaps, a closer familiarity with the American gospel of recreation[182] and the desire to use a more modern term, one which carried less connotation of sin.

Concerning the provision of recreation in the Epworth League, Rev. W. H. Stevens gave his views during an annual Epworth conference in 1913. His opening remarks dealt with a definition of the term.

> RECREATION is an elastic word of wide significance. Sometimes it means that which entertains. . . . Sometimes it is in the way of diversion. . . .
>
> Again it implies helpful exercise which, while it is free from the consciousness of toil, tends to recreate and stimulate our being. . . . We may accept the term in its broader significance, as comprehending all that pleasantly and restfully engages the attention, and results in richer fullness of life energy.[183]

His definition absorbed the concept of amusement.

Considering the place of sports and games in the recreative life of the Canadian citizen, Stevens had much of value to say to his readership, showing both his knowledge of the literature of recreation and his virile attitude towards the body.

> In consideration of a question of this nature one naturally thinks of "Games." Those may be divided into three classes. Games of strength and skill, games of chance and skill, and games of chance pure and simple. For games of mingled strength and skill, such as lacrosse, football, baseball and hockey, provided they are played under proper conditions in an honorable spirit, and not to excess, there is nothing but commendation. They train the hand. They train the eye. They train to quickness of the movement. They train to almost instant balancing [sic] of probabilities. They train to swift and definite decision. Indulged in, in moderation under reasonable surroundings, they tend to make men. The Monks and Ascetics swung to the extreme in viewing the body as an encumbrance, while the materialists have erred more seriously in regarding the body as an instrument of pleasure. The body is God's temporary residence for the human soul. . . . We have in Canada the best outdoor games to be found the world over. They tend to develop that contempt of pain and danger which has ever been the mark of the true hero. Our national games, however, cannot be said to be free from attendant evils. This is sincerely to be regretted.[184]

This noble outlook for the place and spirit of sport in Canadian culture developed during a period of social gospel inspiration, perhaps the pinnacle of a pure variety of social gospel, one which would soon be remolded and bastardized by the ensuing World War. Stevens then proposed a resolution which was unanimously passed by the Convention, demonstrating in part, the passion the social gospel engendered for the place of physical recreation as a force for social regeneration.

> At the suggestion of Mr. Stevens, the Convention unanimously adopted a resolution setting forth its mind on the matter, as follows:
>
> Taking cognizance of man's social nature and in view of the many social pleasures that solicit the patronage of our members,

> this Convention reaffirms its belief that as a rational being man is social, and declares that the gratification of the desire should therefore tend to intelligence, grace and character. We hereby enjoin upon our members that they make the League a social centre and continue to prosecute with determination and vigor a propaganda in favor of a social life in the community that befits the Christian conception, that extols intelligent conversation, studies in sociology and civic life, history and kindred literary pursuits; a social life that scouts extravagance and immodesty in dress, which makes character rather than wealth or social prestige the standard of merit, that finds rest and recreation in those rational activities and enjoyments which violate no law of physical health, foster no criminal passion or propensity and imperils no young life; a social life which, while it lightly and pleasantly engages the attention, will ennoble the soul, will chasten and hallow the nature, will dignify the personality; a social life which iterates and reiterates that men need all their mind and strength for loving God and to do man's work in the world.[185]

In short, perfection was sought across the entire range of human activity including mind, body and spirit. Aspirations were running high. What could the Epworth League and kindred other young people's societies offer in reality? What kind of activities did the leagues participate in which would ensure rest and recreation through rational activities and enjoyments violating no law of physical health, and fostering no criminal passion to imperil the young? The search for appropriate working definitions of such terms as amusement and recreation in effect educated the Church to the advantages and drawbacks which might accompany more practical involvement. But the desire to reconstruct and shape society under Christian ideals appeared immutable, and the social gospel provided most importantly a mandate for some to put into practice such high ideals.

During the first decade of the new century the welter of young people's societies had become the hallmark of the church's serious attempt to stamp the mark of a Christian life upon a youthful society. The church chose all three basic options regarding the provision of recreation and recreational amenities. It developed and encouraged recreation and athletic programs within its organization; it used adopted schemes which would supplement its religious and cultural teaching; and it also encouraged participation in the more Christian social, recreational organizations, such as the YMCA and the Boy Scouts. Enthusiasm for the social gospel coaxed some to attempt the former two options of direct involvement, seeing no need to use outside agencies, such as the YMCA, if the church awakened to the growing recreational demands of Canadian boyhood.

The Presbyterian Pre-Assembly Congress was aware of the impulse modern society had fostered for sports which young people were demanding and finding anywhere they could. A western contributor to the Congress, and a stalwart youth worker, Rev. C. A. Myers, used the obvious prevalence of sport coverage in daily newspapers to make his case about commitment to change.

> One question that came up for discussion was whether they were giving enough space to sports, and the unanimous conclusion arrived at was that, if they were to meet the public demand for sports, they must give fifty per cent. more space than at present. And I suppose that newspaper gives just as much space to sports as any other paper in the city. I do not say that fifty per cent. more would not be right; but I do say that the reader determines what kind of paper he is to get.
>
> If the newspaper editors and publishers, from the business point of view, wish to raise the standards of their papers, I appeal to you and to myself and to this great Congress to meet them at least half way.[186]

Concerning the provision of recreational and sport opportunity within the young people's societies, the church had to try to be at least as liberal as the young audience it hoped to serve.

The denominations chose to serve this impulse for a more vigorous social life in a number of ways. The most rational approach was to upgrade social programming within the various young people's societies, which was begun aggressively after the turn of the century. This led to a modest acceptance and promotion of athletic associations within the church. In addition, clubs and associations of a social nature including Boys Brigade and Boy Scouts improved their social programming, but these more supervised programs emphasized substantially less athletics and gymnastics in preference for lower organized activities such as hiking and camping. The camping movement, for example, offered the church the opportunity to have sports and games within the list of activities, but under quite controlled circumstances. Such varied opportunities formed the basic pattern through which the denominations could provide recreation or athletics, and from time to time most of them at least attempted to do so. The CSET program developed by the YMCA, and later cooperatively sponsored by the church, was billed as an ideal program offering a broader mandate than athletics alone. This program did much to expose those not immediately involved in athletic programs either through the church or community to acknowledge the physical side of life. But the aim of the church was always higher than recreation, and not preeminently aimed at the body, but at the spirit. Tension was always present. Conservative churchmen believed that the church was "rather to pray than to amuse," and despite concern, those who could support a more liberal view would grant that there was a "time to play and a time to pray"[187] and still yet the "practical Christian" of the social gospel might argue that play "may be as necessary as to pray;" all would find the field of sport an opportune place to do battle over the saving of young souls.

During the first half decade of the twentieth century the Anglican church was only slowly giving practical consideration to adopting liberal views on the place of sports and amusements within the church. A number of current schemes were drawing attention, in particular the usefulness of the AYPA, formed in 1902, and other organizations which could cater to more than just the spiritual nature of the young boy as the institutional churches and church boys clubs had traditionally done. Concerning the latter, its function was clearly, in theory and practice, of little athletic value to young boys and men. Noting that the term "club" intimated a social orientation, one contributor to the Churchman wanted to set the record straight by pointing out that in this country such organizations were not really designed for social purposes. The objectives of church clubs were for the most part, educative and operative rather than social, and their function was to "arrange to discuss at suitable intervals those larger questions of diocesan and interdiocesan church interests which make for the upbuilding of our great communion."[188] Although based on the principle of providing for the intellectual, social and physical welfare of its membership, church institutes and clubs were narrower in practice.[189]

As Anglicans organized their young people's program in 1902, the direction for the new AYPA was being discussed among Anglican clergy. The consensus was that if programs were aimed at "simplicity and frugality" and avoided "all appearance of ostentation or extravagance," they could be an efficient handmaiden to the church and warrant the continued support of church officials.[190] And what of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew? This small organization had been in existence for some time, and it certainly did not appear to possess the necessary attributes for plunging headlong into organized athletics. Considerable reading and social service requirements dominated its prescribed activities, and admission to its ranks was restricted. Many found these harsh rules of service so demanding, requiring both community and hospital work for example, that they could not always be lived up to.[191] It was the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, however, which led the way, showing that devout Anglicanism and recreation and athletics were not incompatible.

By the turn of the century local Ottawa churches had developed an increasing interest and competency in the sporting pursuits of the area, especially hockey, baseball, track and field, and the local chapter of the Brotherhood hit upon the somewhat novel idea of establishing a common athletic association within the Anglican church to further improve the level of competition among its communion, and to ensure that these various sports remained within the bounds of propriety. Apparently the idea was not totally new, but a city-wide amalgamation for athletic purposes of church athletic organizations had yet to be realized by any denomination in any region. The Anglican Amateur Athletic Association was about to become a reality.

The Canadian Churchman carried the events with a certain interest and optimism as they unfolded. The first notice of intention appeared during the 1906 winter sporting season.

> The local Council of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew has formulated a scheme for organizing athletic associations in connection with the Bible classes and Sunday schools of the city. The scheme, it is understood, is in successful operation in Hamilton, and in many cities in the States, and the results have been distinctly gratifying.[192]

Adoption of this scheme in Ottawa would mark a new direction for the Anglican church, if such an idea was wholly acceptable to the local dioceses, whose approval was necessary. The Canadian Churchman was enthusiastic, although the plan was untried and perhaps not generally agreeable. However, specific outcomes were expected if the plan were approved.

> Each church that will co-operate will, as far as possible, provide its own quarters with such gymnastic appliances as are practicable, and with games, etc., and by this means it is expected that not only will the boys and young men of each parish become better acquainted with and more interested in one another, and an attraction offered to draw outsiders within the influence of the Church, but a friendship and friendly rivalry will be fostered between the several churches through matches and contests in various lines of sport and athletics.[193]

The reaction of the local area churches to the scheme was favourable and several formed athletic associations for participation in this new organization, the Anglican Amateur Athletic Association (AAAA).

Mr. Frank Beard, first president of the AAAA, and local Ottawa sport enthusiast, summarized the value such an innovative program could offer to Anglican youth, while outlining the aims of the Association.

> First, to indicate in all members, and particularly the boys, the vital importance of cleanliness in the truest and highest

> sense of the word, as it is felt by all that if our boys are clean in their sports they will, in later years, be clean, upright and honest in whatever path of life they may choose to follow. Second, to inculcate in all members, and each parish in the city of Ottawa, and its immediate vicinity of Athletic Associations composed of boys and young men, such associations to have, as far as possible, having due regard to local conditions, a uniform constitution. Third, to promote a friendly rivalry between the several parochial associations by arranging a series of matches in as many branches of sport as possible, thus creating an esprit de corps amongst the young men and boys of each of the clubs belonging to the several churches, which, I fear, has existed but little, if at all, in the past.[194]

Seven churches organized athletic associations and were represented during the first year of operation. The first season's sports included baseball, softball (both senior and junior), cross-country running matches, and hockey. The harrier clubs, for cross-country running, completed their schedule in two stages, spring and fall. By late September the harrier clubs were at last contending for the trophies in this sport. Four runs had been completed in the spring, and again due to its larger congregation and ability to draw players from a larger selection, St. Matthews was leading the senior field (15 and over). However, St. John's, a new addition to the AAAA, was running a close second, which helped to keep interest keen, and All Saints led the junior boys (14 and under).[195]

The final runs were completed in October, and there was really no doubt that St. Matthews would capture both junior and senior harrier trophies. Keeping a competitive balance among the various clubs posed a problem for the nascent organzation. The _Canadian Churchman_ reported most of the details, which showed that member clubs were not overly concerned about the domination of St. Matthews the first year. "In the end, however, St. Matthews boys have captured both trophies by good leads. In spite of this the other clubs did not look upon the victors as invincible by any means; on the contrary, more than one of their competitors has already announced that they will have a much harder fight to repeat the trick next year."[196] The first year's harrier hunt had proved an enormous success, with eventually nine parochial clubs participating, thirty-two senior and forty-nine junior members, in a total of eight separate runs, spring and fall.[197]

The hockey season followed in January and this most popular sport included three levels of competition, senior, intermediate and junior. Interest in the Athletic Association swelled as the competitions proved to be not only entertaining but reasonably competitive as well, with membership estimated at between four and five hundred participants by the end of that year.[198] The mandate of the Athletic Association did not centre entirely around athletic play but involved an investment in time and energy by the membership and officers, to arrange for constitutional and monetary necessities, regular meetings and social functions to suit the season. Nevertheless, coordination of such a city-wide undertaking as the Anglican Amateur Athletic Association of Ottawa required all the usual accoutrements of amateur athletics of the day--rules, badges, banquets, trophies, and team photographs. Each member club proudly held its own independent banquet with toasts and songs showing that the social aim of the Association was quite important to the membership as well. Most activities of either a social or legislative nature were dealt with by committees formed to oversee the duties required and to report back to the membership of the particular church or to the association itself. There was a constant bustle of committees to keep this large association running smoothly.[199]

Since a long hockey season required considerable equipment and costly rink time, the problem of physically providing these necessities was left to the ingenuity of the members. A favoured form of fund raising was the public variety or minstrel show. For one such undertaking between sixty and seventy boys from the various member clubs rehearsed for weeks to ensure that the vice-regal patronage which had been graciously extended to the upcoming performance at the local Russell Theatre, would not be disappointed. Such high patronage was not new to the residents of the Ottawa area, nevertheless sale of advance tickets was reported brisk owing to this patronage.[200]

The performance, enhanced by the presence of the Governor-General, was warmly recorded in the pages of the Canadian Churchman.

> The entertainment given in the Russell Theatre last Thursday night under vice-regal patronage, for the purpose of raising funds with which to provide hockey rinks for the boys of the Anglican Amateur Athletic Association was a pronounced success, the "house" being one of the largest that ever gathered in the capital to patronize an amateur performance. . . . The Association netted a satisfactory sum for the excellent object it had in view.[201]

The attendance of the Governor-General was also believed to have contributed strongly to the success of the fund raising drive. The athletic season ended with a moonlight excursion up the Ottawa River some thirty miles by steamer.[202] By contrast this was a serene ending to a hectic year.

With the opening success of the Ottawa AAAA, topics such as athletics and recreation were discussed more frequently within the Anglican church. The Ottawa St. George's AYPA, for example, devoted one of its regular meetings entirely to the subject of the "Christian and Amusement."[203] Within a few years of the formation of the AYPA, the Anglican church showed an encouraging degree of enthusiasm for a broader attack on the young boy problem. As one editorial noted, "Intellectual study and improvement, and even amusement in due proportion to higher ends are not out of keeping with the A.Y.P.A. aims,"[204] which indicated a loosening of constraints to allow the organization to be more than a handmaiden to the church. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, under whose initiatives the AAAA was formed, remained an elite organization, claiming only 270 senior and 65 junior chapters in Canada in 1907 with a total membership of 3000 men and boys.[205] Obvious, with 400 participants in hockey alone, AAAA teams were drawing membership not only from the Brotherhood of St. Andrew but also from the Anglican Young People's Association or from the congregation at large.

The die seems to have been cast for the AAAA program during that first year of operation. In subsequent years, activities followed much the same pattern of contests, banquets, concerts and the perennial domination of St. Matthews church in most of the events. The 1909 season was typical, the Canadian Churchman again carrying the salient details, but by this point in time the Anglican Amateur Athletic Association was not as newsworthy, though what reporting there was of its activities was done with lingering enthusiasm. The redoubtable St. Matthews church association won most of the prizes including both the senior and junior harriers and baseball trophies, and the junior hockey trophy. In keeping with the broader view of the social as well as the athletic intent behind these Anglican leagues, the association ended the year with a concert and play, which was reported to have been costumed, staged, and acted by the athletes.[206]

The date of the capitulation of the organization remains speculative, but probably this organization went the same route as did so many other athletic associations affiliated with the church. As shown by the national surveys carried out by Methodist and Presbyterian churches cooperatively during the period 1913 - 1916, many of the better league teams were encouraged to join city leagues where higher levels of competitiveness could be enjoyed. From the outset, however, the Association was rather loosely organized with individual church teams withdrawing and reentering during the sporting season either because they were not competitive, or they were unable to continue to field a team. The onset of the First World War, too, may have contributed to the decline in interest for the Association. Certainly this was true of young men's Bible and Sunday schools and young people's societies in the Presbyterian church, where the outbreak of the war was reported to have caused a reduction by some 200 clubs and 9000 members.[207] However, the Association seemed to have been in decline before that period and it would be easy to overstate the impact of the war on it.[208]

The Anglican church may have been slower to provide an organized, structured approach to solving the young boy problem, but the church fell behind the efforts of the Brotherhood and supported the AAAA. In fact, the nascent organization received the endorsement of the Bishop of the Diocese and the Clerical Guild.[209] During this period all denominations, Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian, turned their efforts towards the young boy problem and allowed many athletic associations and church athletic clubs to operate within the church.

In the Toronto area a number of church clubs, for example the Methodist Young Men's Association, were available to young Methodists. This association was organized circa 1900 as Mr. R. W. Eaton, Seventh President of the Association, took the Chair for the 1907 season. While Eaton espoused the view that the ten o-clock Sunday morning class "should be the backbone of the Association's work for the development of Christian manhood,"[210] in practice there was much more going on to encourage sports and amusements which many believed contributed significantly to Christian manhood as well. The executive of the MYMA social committee encouraged crokinole and carpet-ball as suitable activities for young people, but despite unpredictable weather, hockey was the prime interest of Association members during the winter months.

Another Toronto organization, the Brotherhood of St. Paul, of Annette Street Church, was also keenly interested in hockey. This society organized by Rev. T. E. E. Shore in 1902, was particularly aggressive and its 100 or so members enjoyed the benefits of the work of its various committees including a Christian manhood committee, a skating rink committee, a social committee, an athletic committee, and a literary and debating committee.[211] The skating rink was their most honoured achievement, thanks particularly to the sustained interest of Rev. Shore. This sense of achievement was evident in the reporting of its brief history.

> What was once simply a large hole in the ground, beside the church, has since been levelled and fenced in for use as a skating rink. Though it cost about $1,000 to accomplish this, yet owing to the relentless efforts of Rev. T. E. E. Shore, a former pastor of the church, the undertaking was pushed through to a successful issue.
>
> Anyone visiting the place now would find an up-to-date skating rink in Toronto Junction, lit by hundreds of incandescent electric lights, making the scene a veritable fairyland, yet, withal operated within the pale of the church and Christian influence--no smoking, no swearing, all wholesome.[212]

At about the time the Brotherhood was first formed, Shore had stated his conviction about the potential value of a more physically active church program: "What a work for the Church to do--the winning of young men from worldly influence, the equipment of their lives for social service, the development of character, mental, moral and muscular."[213] Shore's influence can be seen in the Brotherhood's assessment of the value of such an undertaking to the community and to the future.

The Brotherhood operators of the rink felt they could offer their rink as a practical example of an innovative social philosophy.

> One thousand people may be seen upon the ice on a Saturday evening. . . .
>
> "There is another rink a little farther down the street," said Mr. Ewens, "and it is fully twice the size of ours. Yet, strange to say, ours gets the patronage. They have a band every

> night, while we are closed on Monday and Wednesday, to maintain quietness during club and prayer-meetings. Ours is often black with people, when theirs is scarcely attended by anyone. I believe it is because our rink is operated under Christian influences."[214]

Such beliefs would be capable of carrying the social gospel and physical recreation to even greater heights.

Summer athletics were also part of the Brotherhood's curriculum for developing a Christian manhood. The benefit of such activities was deemed invaluable in directing the boy's attention to the church. With the construction of six courts near the church, tennis became the particular interest during the summer and this new facility was kept extremely busy.[215]

The Alpine club of Cobourg Methodist Church, Cobourg, Ontario, had similar social and athletic goals in view when it was formed in the fall of 1914. It was organized for the promotion of comradeship among the boys and young men characterized by a high moral tone. To accomplish this, a large part of the program was devoted to athletic activities.

> The club has hockey, baseball and basket-ball teams, which play good, clean games. In 1915 they won the Junior Championship of the Inter-Church Base-ball League of Cobourg. . . .[216]

There were other benefits besides the laurels of the field. One was that interest by the boys in the activities of the church was sustained, consequently its weekly Thursday Club meetings were well attended. For their diligence, the members were treated to a social every second month to which ladies could be invited. As a direct result of the success of the club, three other church clubs were formed. Membership was not restricted to those of the Methodist faith; this more ecumenical approach to church-oriented athletics was being adopted by the denominations to further the work of rescuing young Christian men from worldly contaminations.[217]

One observer of boys' club work had an optimistic viewpoint about the potential benefits to accrue from active promotion of boys' clubs within the Anglican church and by the use of physical recreation in particular.

> To summarize: The Boys' Club at the Church can form the link between a boy's religion and his everyday life. It can enlist his interest and service for his Church in his youth. In cases of parental neglect it can be made a great force to keep the boy in better ways, and also show him that somebody is interested in him. It can do its bit towards inculcating a respect for religion and help to remove the friction between the social classes. Its physical work gives it a share in raising the physique, not only of the community, but of Canada, and in raising a generation physically fit, and which would be an asset if ever again the call should come to fight for Right and our Empire.
>
> By the training given by games, well and properly played, that Anglo-Saxon spirit of fair play will be inculcated, and your Church Club may be made a centre of patriotism, true sport, fellowship and Christianity among the boys, who will be men to-morrow.[218]

While some church clubs catering to older men and boys preferred a "good lounge with fireplace, deep easy chairs and billiard tables and an adjoining cafeteria," most preferred more active physical recreation.[219] The St. Luke's Men's Club, Winnipeg, for example, in 1925 was debating the merits of reentering the various Winnipeg leagues for activities which it was particularly interested in, namely bowling and billiards.[220] The junior boys of the church practiced a gymnastic display for a demonstration before hundreds of interested parents. Under the direction of the Church Gym Director, Garfield White, sixty boys between the ages of 9 and 13 gave one such impressive demonstration.

> Items on the programme included physical training, Chinese maze wonders, pyramids, relay races, buck-the-buck, high jumping for senior and junior boys, horse and mat work, boxing, fencing, pole vaulting, the concluding item being a basketball game between the Gym team and the St. Luke's Wolf Cub team, the score ending in a tie, 4-4.[221]

Gymnasium work was a popular item with the younger boys.

Similar work was carried on in Calgary's recently built St. Stephen's Memorial Hall, which had been constructed to accommodate social gatherings in the large hall contained in the basement, but which needed a few alterations in order to accommodate active sports such as basketball.

> Recently the equipment for basketball has been installed and the iron pillars have padded coverings which were made especially for them when any games are in progress. Here large classes of boys and girls meet bi-weekly for their scout, guide and W.A. activities. . . .
>
> Between the Hall and the Church the A.Y.P.A. are erecting tennis courts, which will be ready for this season's play.[222]

By the mid 1920s tennis lawns adjoined most parishes, and gymnasiums were being erected routinely as part of the church structure, their importance recognized as an element in church work.

The Boys' Brigade was another form of organization at the disposal of the church, but one which it did not find particularly appealing. The reasons for rejecting this form of organization are important because they indicate some of the priorities which the church felt in resolving the young boy problem. This form of boys' association was of British origin and stressed military style discipline. First established in 1883, and primarily a religious movement, it was never widely acclaimed in this country. At its zenith in 1897, only 88 companies were operating within the Dominion.[223] By 1907 this number had dropped considerably to approximately twenty companies affiliated with the denominations.

Under the influence of a growing nationalism at the turn of the century, and the subsequent promotion of the Strathcona trust, there was a small movement by some churchmen to revive the fading Boys' Brigade, with its military rubric. However, the move was resisted because the style of organization was believed to be inappropriate for the Canadian mentality. This was despite some good features. Although paramilitaristic, the style of the organization was deeply religious as well and demanding strict rules of service. In the British Brigade moreso than in the Canadian, sports played an essential role where it was important to maintain a "right attitude towards athletics," and where recreation was to contribute to "the disciplining of character."[224] In Canada athletics was not stressed to the same extent partially due to a general lack of concern for athletics in church life and also to the belief that "in Canada the code of honor in sport is shockingly below standard." The program offered instead a number of practical departments including life-saving and first aid, ones which seemed to complement its militaristic flare. To replace athletics one organizer remarked that for "training in mental alertness, as well as providing an excellent system of light gymnastics without any thought of gymnastic, we took up army signalling."[225] The Brigade stressed many of the activities found favourable to the Boy Scouts including hiking, swimming and of course the all important uniform, a "recognized value in producing the right spirit of discipline."[226] Moreover, those who supported the Brigade and the Boy Scouts alike, sometimes did so to "secure the value of outdoor sport without the feverish excitement of the cruder games."[227]

In the final judgment, the Boys' Brigade fell into obscurity on this continent, while the Boy Scouts rose beyond highest expectations. One reviewer of church recreation summed up the history of the Church Lad's Brigade.

> This was simply an adaptation of the old volunteer system, a number of cadet corps. There is no doubt, whatever, that in their time they did quite excellent work. Physical drill, military training and discipline are doubtless good things in their way, and may be turned to excellent account. The old brigades failed in that they were too militaristic, they relied more on discipline and training than on seizing on the peculiar characteristics of boyhood, of which more must be said later. It may be mentioned that the movement never spread much outside of England, and it is doubtful if more than a very few units ever were in existence in Canada, and they are certainly not in existence now. We may, indeed, dismiss the subject at once. Excellent in their day they have somewhat outgrown their usefulness; perhaps, merely the fashion has changed, or perhaps something better has been found.[228]

An alternative was suggested, the Boy Scouts, an alternative which on more than one occasion was the choice of thinking clergy in Canada due to their preference for something other than organized athletics.

Accompanying the rise of the young people's society and a more systematic approach to the young boy problem was the camping movement. Religious education was teaching that the boy had physical as well as mental and spiritual faculties requiring attention, and the summer camp provided church boys' workers with an opportunity to address all three aspects simultaneously and in a controlled setting. The camp movement was interrupted by the war, but eventually all denominations established regional or provincial church camps, and the physical activities planned by the churches for boys during their two week holiday were an important part of its progressive work.

Rev. E. W. Forbes, from Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, was an avid boys' worker. In an address written for the Canadian Epworth Era he outlined briefly two major components of his philosophy towards the young boy problem: the boys' club and the boys' summer camp. The boys' club, designed for the improvement of "minds, manners, morals and muscle," had activities centered around the gymnasium and athletics on Sunday afternoons.[229] Concerning the Boys' Brigade, Forbes had this opinion:

> As far as drill organizations are concerned, my only actual experience has been in connection with the Boys' Life Brigade. This secures all the disciplinary benefits of drill without incurring the risk of fostering unduly the military spirit. Squad drill without the use of arms, ambulance and stretcher work, and exercise in the saving of life from fire and water comprise the regular work of the brigade, and to these may be added such features as seem desireable for the promotion of its object, which is the development of strong Christian manhood.[230]

The other type of activity Forbes recommended for the development of a strong Christian manhood was the summer camp.

Forbes had been in charge of four such camps established by the YMCA thirteen years earlier, circa 1893; and logically, in keeping with the special emphasis the YMCA placed on physical development, sports and games abounded. The plan was rather a simple one--

find competent leaders and assistants, then "enter into the boys' sports and games, win their friendship, seek to exemplify religion before their boy friends in all their intercourse with them, and generally succeed in winning them to Christ."[231] Many games were indulged in: baseball, football and hare-and-hounds formed the staple amusements, and to these were added as required, swimming, rowing, sailing and tug-of-war. The motto of the camp was "Remember Jesus Christ."[232] Camp activities abounded but Forbes' analysis of their social worth was noticeably absent of any social gospel rhetoric at this early date. But with their tenaciously ordered routine, such camps were to become commonplace for the denominations.

One such example was the Anglican church camp at Gamesbridge, Ontario, a property purchased along Lake Simco in 1910. This camp was established, as was the case with all denominational camps, to serve the needs of the various boy's choirs, Sunday school associations, clubs and Brotherhoods of the denomination. Their purpose was clear as shown by the captions addressing the topic of church camps in denominational periodical literature. They were providing a solution to the problem of summer time vacation for youngsters: "Practical christianity in the Summertime."[233]

The routine at such camps was hardly unrestrained: up at six thirty, rising exercises, a quick dip and then off to breakfast. Next, Bible study in the early morning followed by swimming or games for an hour, and again for two hours in late afternoon before supper, or this time was taken up by a boating, walking or driving excursion. Interspersed were the usual inspections, and of course, no tobacco was allowed at camp, not even by visitors. Lights out was at nine thirty.[234]

Rev. J. E. Gibson was captain of the camp and under his direction there were plenty of athletic activities for the young. For boys under twelve the activities included fifty yard dash, wheelbarrow race, standing broad jump, and three-legged race, and the same for boys under fifteen, with the dash being 100 yards. Senior boys could try the challenging 200 yard race. Besides football (probably soccer) and baseball, boxing was encouraged for Anglican youth. In the English tradition, this was seen as a manly activity and a contributor to strong character if held under careful control, although the more evangelical denominations (especially Presbyterian) denounced boxing because it did not meet the test of moral standards applied to amusements.[236]

Supporters of the camping movement and the church's involvement in it sought specific benefits of athletic activity.

> Under the ideal leadership [understood to be the church], the true fundamentals of athletic contests and different games are presented. Here for the first time some of the boys are taught what team work and team play means. It is not a direct teaching, but they realized that if their team is to win, they must assist and co-operate with the other fellow. This is one of the important lessons necessary in every parish, and when it is inculcated in the boy at camp, it certainly will make him a better individual in his parish.[237]

The higher purposes of such activities were often repeated. There was a place for sports and games within this setting, but the social gospel message, that to play may be as important as to pray, was submerged.

At the 1925 annual Brotherhood of St. Andrew convention held in Winnipeg, A. R. Shea-Butcher, representative of the GBRE Boys' Work Council outlined an Anglican camp policy which showed that in some quarters the social gospel passion was not subsiding. "I have called it the 'New Attitude.' Perhaps I should have said 'The Awakening' of the Church to a realization of the importance of taking a more active interest in the every-day life of her boys."[238] Shea-Butcher understood the reasons which helped to bring about this awakening. Most of those he cited were by now a generation old: the loss of young manhood from the front ranks of the church, especially those aged 14 - 20; the gradual recognition that the contemporary man demands that his religion be a part of his life, and the belief that future generations would desire an even closer harmony; the wider acceptance by the church that it has a social responsibility as well as a gospel to proclaim; and the need for a balanced program in order to produce desired national efficiency. Shea-Butcher recommended the CSET program, supplemented of course by the use of a liberal camp policy.[239]

The desire of social gospellers to serve the impulse for a more vigorous social life within the diverse clubs, brotherhoods and athletic associations drew a mixed response from the denominations. The more evangelical churches, the Methodist and Presbyterian, supported the early involvement with structured weekday programming within the church in order to provide a suitable alternative for young boys. While the evangelical commitment dictated more direct involvement, this did not necessarily mean a penchant for sports and games, particularly within the Presbyterian church which held more stubbornly to its traditional assessment that "there is a tendency at present to devote altogether too much time to amusements on the part of many young people."[240] Methodists and Anglicans were more philosophically able to accept a legitimate place for sports and games. Anglicans, in particular, being familiar with British stories of "muscular Christianity," accepted athletic games as a part of normal adolescent development, although they were slow to organize denominational youth programs. Methodist clerics proved a helpful clergy by not only giving spiritual support to Methodist athletic endeavours but also by providing a fair measure of practical initiative as well.

Canadian Standard Efficiency Training

All denominations were instrumental in molding the CSET program first developed by the YMCA and offered to the various provincial Sunday school associations for their consideration. The program was strongly recommended to Presbyterian teachers and boy leaders not only in Sabbath schools, but within young people's societies generally.[241] The response was modestly favourable. By 1923, 413 CSET programs were reported in operation in Sunday schools alone, excluding those using a partial program.[242] If the ideal of the denomination was a balanced program, then the CSET met at least basic requirements.

This program focused on the message in Luke 2:52, that Jesus increased in wisdom and in stature and in favour with God and man.

Thus a four-fold program emerged from this ideal life of Christ which stressed these four essential aspects of life: the intellectual, the physical, the religious, and Christian service. According to Horne, who assisted in developing the format, associating the spiritual with the other aspects of the program (including the physical) was integral to its purpose.

> Now each aspect of this four-fold life should be related to God. When so related, it becomes spiritual as Paul clearly teaches regarding the physical side of our nature in Romans 12:1-2. "Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy acceptable to God, which is your spiritual service." When all sides of human life are thus related to God, we have the spiritual man complete in all his being.[243]

Standardized symmetry was believed to be the best remedy for adolescent "quirkiness" and tests and charts were devised in all four quadrants of the plan, to even out unbalanced adolescent development.[244]

The social ambition behind the rationale for the program was evident in the standard requirements. For the intellectual standard, career plans, sex education, public speaking, home reading, educational lectures, educational trips and collections, observation and woodcraft, outlined the basic topics of concern. The religious standard naturally included church and Sunday school attendance, morning watch or daily Bible study, history of religion, and cultural objectives such as music, poetry, art and natural history. The service standard concentrated on the boy in relation to his community and his country, with a wide variety of objectives ranging from increased membership in church organizations, to the three C's campaign--clean speech, clean sports, clean habits. It aimed at personal and community service, and required the study of heroes of church service and study of the government of the nation.[245] Its appeal to the denominations according to McNeill, in his history of the Presbyterian church, was that it gave a central place to religion and that it "lacked the military emphasis of some rival organizations."[246] C. A. Myers of the Presbyterian Sabbath School Board was largely responsible for ensuring that the Presbyterian point of view was considered during the various reviews and editions of the Booklet.

The physical standard was as comprehensive. Its rationale was given careful consideration as well. New Testament 1 Corinthians 6:19-20 was the watchword for this aspect of complete development: "Know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Spirit? Glorify God, therefore, in your body." This theme was elaborated upon in the sixth edition of the Tests.

> The basis of all development is physical. The muscles are the instruments of the intellect, the feelings and the will. Ninety-five per cent. of all interests find physical expression. Seventy-five per cent. of the boy gangs are organized for physical activity. Self-control depends upon the proper interaction of nerves and muscles. Adolescence is the age of nerve and muscle education. Flabby muscled boys become pliant men who only talk. Well-developed boys become men who will say and act and produce results. A strong, healthy body inhibits wrong tendencies. A physical weakling is apt to be selfish. Physical training should, therefore, be encouraged, not alone for the sake of the body which is "to-day grass and to-morrow is cast into the oven," but for the sake of the soul. We must have regard to the body because it is the instrument of the soul.[247]

Drawing from the literature of adolescence, there was a serious attempt to moralize about the virtues of right behaviour and the physical and social consequences of ignoring these laws. The church believed that such a program of physical development should have specific goals in mind, goals which might seem as important as the attainment of physical health itself. The text continued.

> The ideal for the body is therefore the ideal of "Health," and health can only be attained by conformity to God's laws for the body--. . . . He avoided the extremes both of Asceticism, i.e., neglecting the body, and of Athleticism, i.e., giving the body undue attention as an end in itself--two common ideals; but rather exemplified the ideal of health, or fully developed manhood on the physical side.[248]

From such a perspective, sports and games would at best be only a part of a broader program of physical recreation.

The C.S.E.T. Manual for Tuxis Boys elaborated on the spiritual necessity for bodily health, but in a more literary style. Concerning the physical program, it began, "It is a fine thing to be interested in all forms of exercise which will result in a ruddy cheek, clear eye and a strong, flexible voice. Athletics and games have an undoubted and important place in furnishing healthful exercise and in providing a wholesome outlet for the full, free energy of youth." Considering the purpose of such games and athletics, and the Christian message of honoring the body, the Manual elaborated further:

> Enough has been said to show that we have no right to despise the body. It has its rightful and important place as one of the four phases of our nature. If we set as our final goal the mental and moral gains, which we may achieve through good health and well developed muscles we shall reap a double reward for our efforts.[249]

The Manual emphasized and promoted the objective that boys should emulate Jesus, and his way of life, one characterized by living in the open air and close to nature.[250]

The physical program changed very little during the period from 1914 when the Sunday school commissions became involved, until 1925. The prescribed format for the physical standard included eight headings originally: Health Education, Campcraft, Team Games, Group Games, Swimming, Running, Jumping and Throwing, the latter three being grouped under the heading "athletics" in 1922. The structured program operated on five basic principles which gave strength to the format. The first principle was that of grouping, and eight grades or levels were commonly used--Grade 1, for 12 or 13 year olds, up to Grade 8, for 20 years olds. In practice these were further grouped to encourage use of the "spontaneous gang" concept and were prescribed according to specific achievement levels.[251]

The second principle sought to utilize the natural group instinct for self government. "The organized Sunday School class with week-day activities is intended to satisfy this natural demand. The boy will be loyal to only one organization, hence the importance of relating all his activities to the Sunday School Class."[252] The third principle was that of masculine Christian leadership. Believing that "character is caught, not taught," this ideal stressed the value of hero-worship during the "dangerous habit-forming period of life."[253]

A fourth guide was the principle of progressive development. Each test for the individual grades was progressive in its degree of difficulty or commitment. The hope was that at the end this would give the boy a "Christian view of God and the world which should inspire within him an abiding passion for personal participation in the work of the Kingdom."[254] The last principle supported all-around development. Concerning the specialist, the example of the athlete was a logical choice.

> Just as the star athlete who inspires us to develop strong, healthy bodies wields a greater influence if he has a trained mind, a clean character and an unselfish disposition, so the boy who would develop outstanding characteristics in any one of the mental, physical, social or spiritual realms should back it up by a sufficient development in the other three.[255]

These principles were exemplified in all activities and in discussions regarding the physical standard. There was also a heavy reliance on imported books and pamphlets from American sources, representing the best literature by prominent American physical educators, doctors, educators, and health specialists.

Under the physical standard the first sub-heading, health education, rested on the belief that good health was essential to clean living and clear thinking. During the six month period through which observations were to be made in order to pass this standard, the boy was guided to digest such classics as Hutchinson's Exercise and Health, Muller's My System, Gulick's Efficient Life and Physical Education by Muscular Exercise, Eggleston's Rural Hygiene, and Rational Living by King. The various grades required specific undertakings to meet minimum requirements. Typical examples included such useful activities as attending practical talks on hygiene, the value of bathing, effects of alcohol and tobacco, and the value of a medical examination. The highest grade level, 8, was required to lead a group of boys in health education.[256] Prescribed practical requirements necessitated observance of fixed hours for rising and retiring, drinking specified amounts of water, and daily teeth cleaning, bathing, bowel movements and physical exercise. Health tests were also requirements. Endurance tests in pull ups, rope climbing, cross-country running or paper chases, and one-mile walks would help the mentor, as the boy leader was called, assess whether or not the boy was living a healthful life, if the general requirements of good posture, a medical examination and the correction of remediable physical defects were insufficient.[257]

Campcraft was important to the program because it was understood that "when boys are 'in God's out-of-doors' with congenial companions, they are very susceptible to spiritual influences. A week or ten days with his little groupof boys 'at camp,' will give the earnest Mentor the finest opportunity to get at the very heart of the boys and inspire them to higher ideals of life and conduct."[258] The recommended literature included Thompson-Seton's The Book of Woodcraft, The Boy Scout Manual, Gibson's Camping for Boys, etc., which prepared the young boys to better understand the practical talks which were a part of the regimen and included such items as campcraft, picking a site, suitable foods, tent making, etc.[259] Practical requirements ensured this newly learned knowledge was applied.

The Team Games standard exemplified the thinking of the times towards "muscular Christianity" and the importance of team games, when properly handled, in the development of an upright character. The Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests booklet stressed:

> The altruistic, or "help the other fellow" spirit is strongly developed through team play. As a boy plays so will he live. Play is God's way of teaching him how to live with others. While even unsupervised play may develop many splendid qualities, it is only when a boy's play is guided by a Christian young man who encourages honesty and uprightness that it becomes one of the greatest of all agencies for character development.[260]

And its most popular myths, carefully built up over the years, were not to be denied. "Every TUXIS BOY who plays the games of this Program in the right way is helping to win the great 'Waterloo' of his life some day later on."[261] For reference to the rules, skill and strategy associated with team games, the boy was directed to read Curtis' Play and Recreation in the Open Country, The Official Handbook of the Athletic League of the Y.M.C.A. of Canada, and books on the various team games published by the Spalding Company.[262]

The tests for Team Games involved two parts. First was the requirement that all grades attend a lecture on the "Character Building Value of Team Games" and the oldest boys were required to give a talk on this subject. The other requirement was that boys participate in a total of fifteen team games (in at least three sports) on separate days during the year. The preferred choices were baseball, indoor baseball, lacrosse, hockey, playground ball, rugby, soccer (specified as Association football), or cricket,[263] although in practice other popular sports were substituted.[264] Young sportsmen who displayed self-control, gentlemanly conduct and good spirit, might qualify for the team games badge.[265]

Group games for children were believed to possess similar character-forming qualities as team games. They were less organized and were classified as being occasional, unscheduled, spontaneous, and often without regard for the number of players. Approved references included Bancroft's Games for the Playground, Home, School and Gymnasium, and Chesley's Indoor and Outdoor Games. No less than forty-one games were recommended of which any ten were part of the test in this category under the Physical Standard.[266]

Swimming was considered essential in the complete physical program of the recruit because knowledge of swimming was believed to give one self poise and a quiet personal assurance, very often the essential ingredients of a gentleman.[267] The books recommended for reading included Corsan's At Home in the Water, and the Manual of the Royal Life Saving Society. The tests associated with swimming ranged from grade 1 in which the requirement was to swim 25 yards free style and 25 yards on the back, to Grade 7 which required the performer to swim 225 yards free style and demonstrate three methods of release and rescue with a tow of no less than 20 yards with each method of life-saving.[268]

Athletics, which was originally considered under separate headings of running, jumping and throwing was thought of in much the same vein as team games, possessing inherent character building qualities. The Tests booklet reiterated this point clearly.

> The character building influence of wisely conducted athletics is far reaching. Athletic events are thoroughly democratic. They teach self control, and tend to keep one calm when others are excited and alarmed. They help to establish habits of temperance and develop honor, sincerity, honest effort, skills, endurance, courage, perseverence, self-reliance, and other clean-cut manly attributes and ideals.[269]

But caution was recommended because these worthy principles were often not put into practice unless conscious efforts were made to incorporate them.

The Mentor was advised that he should encourage all boys to train for the athletic events so that their performance for official tests was creditable.[270] To encourage training, "National Athletic Meets" were organized by the National Boys' Work Board, affiliated with the Religious Education Council of Canada since 1917, which represented the cooperating churches and the YMCA.[271] Requirements for meet participation were that a registrant must be an initiated member of a registered CSET group and have attended a minimum number of midweek and Sunday school sessions in order to qualify.[272] Training for these athletic contests was mandatory for success, and hints for training were not uncommon.[273]

The Mentor was advised to challenge every boy to strive for his potential, but the Mentors' Manual suggested that competitions within Tuxis or Trail Rangers be organized on a group basis so that the total score would count and the backward boy could feel he had made a contribution.[274] Perhaps to appease the church, the plan downplayed competitiveness and instead stressed health. "An athlete he may never be and, for effective service, need not be, but the genuine interest in all that concern his [Mentor's] athletic boys will win their loyalty and fellowship."[275] That the creators of the physical standard were not particularly concerned with athletic excellence is shown by the absence of any recommended literature concerning running or throwing technique. Running events included the 60 yard potato race, outdoor sprints, which were prescribed because of the variation in the size of indoor tracks, standing broad jump, running high jump and the standing hop, step and jump. The throwing component of the athletic tests included throwing for distance, throwing at a target, and pull ups and putting the shot, which were included specifically for upper body and arm development.[276] Most of these running and throwing events were included in the National Athletic contests.

The majority of these events were classed by weight category and standards set for each. The most commonly used weight classifications were: 80 pounds and under, 81-95 pounds, 96-110 pounds, 111-125 pounds, and unlimited above 125 pounds. The category of sprints provides a good example of the level of attainment expected.

WEIGHT	DISTANCE	STANDARD TIME
80 pounds	50 yards	7 2/5 seconds
95 pounds	75 yards	10 2/5 seconds
110 pounds	100 yards	13 2/5 seconds
125 pounds	100 yards	12 2/5 seconds
unlimited	100 yards	11 2/5 seconds

Other components such as pull ups required a minimum performance to meet the standard. For example, in the five weight categories the minimum standards were 3, 4, 6, 8 and 10 pull ups respectively.[277] However, an adequate performance on any individual test probably required some practice for the average Sunday school participant, but diligent practice for an above average score.

The CSET program offered the denominations the opportunity to become involved in a structured program suitable for young people's societies in an area of life which they traditionally believed was best left to the discretion of the individual. Although some would claim that it failed to catch on in Sunday school and proved hopelessly cumbersome, trying to encompass as it did all aspects of adolescent development,[278] in many other ways it represented success and a change in attitudes. During the years 1920 and 1921 the program was turned over entirely to the denominational advisory boards and the Religious Educational Council of Canada due to the inability of fund raising drives by the YMCA to support the program financially.[279] But at the same time the denominations were strengthening their Sunday school weekday activity programs and later accepted this ready-made boys program as the basis for Trail Rangers (12-14 years) and Tuxis (15-18 years) programs, interdenominational programs which developed under the auspices of the Religious Education Council of Canada.

Despite the fact that in absolute numbers the program reached only a portion of protestant Christian youth, within the churches there was a feeling that it was eminently successful, and the denominations officially espoused no other view than that it should continue to develop as part of the basic Sunday school program. During the period, 1918 - 1921, gains were heralded in the promotion of CSET with upwards of 25,000 Tuxis and Trail Rangers potentially benefitting from this structured program.[280]

But the CSET program is significant far beyond what these figures might initially suggest. Because it gained official church support, the program challenged the church to become more practically involved with youth and tested its commitment to the social message of the social gospel which gave physical recreation a legitimate existence within the church. Because it provided a controlled program where the opportunities for boyish behaviour were severely restricted, the program encouraged the church to approve recreational and athletic activities under its direct aegis. Furthermore, through the efforts of many clergy in the various Sunday school, Boys' Work and Social Service Departments, Councils and Boards, CSET provided the church with the earlier opportunity to develop weekday programming. For all its failings CSET still remained one bright hope of the denominations for attracting the worldly boy's favour.

Young People's Associations

Social and recreative activities had been diverted because of the war. Some societies were disbanded, but with a return to a state of normalcy the various executive bodies of young people's organizations once again began to flourish with activity. Things were quickly getting back in order, if the speed with which athletic committees were being reestablished was an indicator. The Toronto Council of the AYPA was one such organization, representing nearly twenty-five local branches in the Toronto area, ready to begin business as usual. Very soon after the war there were approximately 1000 AYPA members represented by the Council, and by 1922 more than 2000 members were registered.[281] Ranks had been doubled in less than four years.

The Anglican General Synod had endorsed the purpose of the AYPA since its inception in 1902. Approved literature of the AYPA published after the war reiterated the social ambitions of the association very clearly. This was not too different from what was envisioned by its creators two decades earlier. The emphasis of the church on the social aspect of its mission was still characterized as cautious.

> Social evenings should be devised to exemplify the principle of "fellowship." Refreshments may be desirable, but they are not essential. A social evening should give opportunity for becoming better acquainted, for introducing strangers, for cultivation of the art of conversation, and for games and amusements.[282]

Concerning planning for individual sessions, it was recommended that:

> The programme (previously planned) should show variety and wholesome entertainment. Remember A.Y.P.A. meetings are not simply to amuse. Let our meetings be bright, but not light. Sociability does not mean frivolity.[283]

But in the interim, substantial changes had taken place. In many churches, sport and physical recreation had become a legitimate activity; in others it was tolerated. But by and large the experience of the church in this area of life had been successful: young people's organizations had realigned the interest of many young boys to the church; young people's societies and brotherhoods through social and athletic programs, camping excursions and CSET programs, had shown the church firsthand that they could be conducted in an orderly and edifying manner. But the wartime reconstruction period was well underway and many young people's organizations were anxious to pick up where they had left off.

The first interest of the sports committee of the Council was tennis. A committee to arrange the summer program was appointed by the May, 1920 meeting of the Council to set schedules for all interested branches. Eight branches responded affirmatively to the call for participants. The events offered included ladies singles, gents singles, ladies doubles, gents doubles, and mixed doubles, but each player was to enter only one event.[284] Local rules were adopted as well, which stated that:

> All branches entering the League must have an AYPA Tennis Club and all players must be AYPA members. Visiting team to provide balls. Neutral member to act as umpire supplied by visiting team. Each branch entering the league is asked to appoint one member to act on a committee to draw up schedules, arrange umpires, etc. Spaldings Rules to be used. Any branch failing to keep appointment loses by default. The umpire's decision is final.[285]

Tennis proved so popular that the sports committee had difficulty arranging satisfactory schedules for the sport, as well as attend to its other duties. Perhaps it was because tennis encouraged a mixing of the sexes, but by the following year there were so many participants that a separate tennis committee was required to control all matters relating to interbranch tournaments. The next season's play did not start smoothly because the necessary permits to use city courts were not available on time.[286] But after a delayed start, the game of tennis again proved popular with AYPA members.

Sports such as tennis were not supported evenly by the participating branches and this led to a number of the tennis cups being retained permanently, for example, by St. Anne's, after successive wins at this "gentlemanly" game.[287] The St. Edmund's AYPA club joined another interchurch league, probably for reasons of better competition and was reported doing well.[288] Unbalanced competition seemed to be a problem as well in baseball because St. Anne's had also captured both boys and girls softball trophies.

Circumstances seemed to be reminiscent of the Ottawa AAAA in this regard.

The idea to establish an AYPA baseball league was first brought before the sports committee in the early spring of 1921. However, initial efforts did not succeed because, the executive claimed, the initiative had begun too late. Again there was direct competition with the established interchurch league operating in the city, and enthusiasts were encouraged to join that league but before the cutoff date of April 15th.[289] By the following spring, 1924, a contingent of 22 teams, 11 men and 11 ladies, was actively demonstrating the popularity of this sport and paying $10 per team per season to support it.[290] So popular in fact was baseball that three divisions were needed to organize the schedule.

By the spring of the next season interest was continuing to escalate with upwards of thirty entries to organize and control. The sports committee was hard pressed to keep up with the pace, and finally it was "decided to affiliate with the T.A.S.B. League."[291] The idea to affiliate with the Toronto Amateur Soft Ball League did not appear to materialize as the committee remained actively involved in the sport. Subsequent problems related more to off the field activities as there were numerous warnings against the use of playing non-paid-up members.[292] Noticeably, as the popularity of such sports as baseball and tennis spread, the administrative capabilities of the AYPA were put to the test.

The sport of baseball also required the AYPA to brush with the more wordly aspects of sport, for example, gate receipts. The issue was first raised about the time that the League was considering entering the TASBL. The Committee immediately asked for a ruling on the association's sports rules regarding gate receipts. The topic was discussed with interest. A recommendation emerged, "That the executive recommend to the Local Council that the branches be allowed to make collections at their own discretion." A second one followed immediately thereafter, with the hope of reversing the former recommendation: "That the Local Council recommend to the branches that no collections are to be taken up at their games."[293] This recommendation was defeated.

If the tension created by some sports broke the fragile image that these communicants were totally without worldly concerns, scenes at the many social picnics helped to cement the pieces back together. Picnics were well known for their sociability and they proved all the more popular when complemented by varied recreational and athletic programs. Even on short notice, the sports committee could expect more than seven hundred enthusiastic picnickers if fine weather were in the forecast. The administration of the picnic customarily required that the ladies provide refreshments and the men contribute fifty cents. Games started at three o-clock sharp and the races might include either a Blind Fold Race or a Soda Biscuit Race.[294] Other activities included outdoor and indoor baseball, boating, bathing and park amusements too if the picnic were held at the local amusement centre at Grimsby Beach.[295]

The favourite winter sport, hockey, could easily shatter the myth again. There seemed to be always a large number of willing participants, and administrative difficulties were compounded by the unpredictability of natural ice and the more aggressive nature of the sport. There had been some concern developing over the previous few years about all three major sports, with problems ranging from purely administrative complaints such as unpaid dues, to the quality of play itself including unbalanced competition and the use of non-members. The fact that the executive of the AYPA had to issue a warning against the stealing of equipment during matches only added to the administrative dilemma. There were financial problems as well. Money was not always available to purchase ice time during warm weather when outdoor rinks were unusable.[296] The committee was often in search of a philanthropist.

A special committee was convened in the late fall of 1922 to deal with sports in the AYPA, and its report received clause by clause examination by a committee of the whole. Subsequently, a copy of the report, which contained many helpful suggestions for future managers of sports, was sent to each branch within the AYPA.[297] The new year brought notice that the secretary of the athletics committee was resigning after heated debates over how to best organize athletic sports. After announcement of the resignation of the secretary, the sports committee moved and carried a motion announcing, "in view of the unorganized state of the Athletic Committee and the lateness of the hockey season, that the Local Council Hockey League should not be run this year."[298] Other more serious moves were to follow. The chairman of the athletic committee was included on the executive as an added precaution in order to keep them better informed of developments. Additionally, the interim secretary was to send a mailing list of members to the executive with a recommendation that any person taking part in sport must be a paid up member, at least two months before receiving a card giving permission to enter the league.[299] The AYPA executive intended to closely supervise the athletic program to discourage problems before the local diocese put a stop to the problem altogether.

By September, with reminders of winter weather, the call was sent out to discuss once again the question of whether or not the AYPA could successfully organize its hockey league. It went on the agenda for an October meeting with the recommendation that,

> Owing to conditions prevailing in past years [i.e. poor organization and conduct] in regard to Hockey Leagues formed by A.Y.P.A. branches, the Executive recommend that there be no A.Y.P.A. Hockey League formed under the auspices of the Local Council the coming season.[300]

At the meeting the recommendation carried and although the details behind making such a decision are not clear, it was obvious by the tenor of the meeting that the executive was embarrassed at the continued lack of good hockey organization. Perhaps the committee was not capable of organizing this well patronized sport on a part time basis. Consequently, another special committee was formed to salvage the reputation of the AYPA and to investigate the possibility of returning hockey to the roster. Stringent rules and regulations to govern hockey were proposed by the chairman of the special committee to make the sport more acceptable, with the issue to be finally settled by the end of October or early November. In the fall of 1924 the decision was made to abandon it.

> Moved by Wood, seconded by Mr. Bond that AYPA hockey be abandoned this year, but would suggest that any branch that would like to play to become affiliated with some local hockey league--carried. Mr. W. E. Ross (St. Anne's) is willing to act pro tem for those who would like to participate in hockey.[301]

The popularity of hockey was a factor leading to its downfall because the AYPA proved unable to effectively organize and control so many teams. The athletic program in general was approved, at least in principle, by the majority of the lay executive of the Association and by the Anglican clergy a little further in the background. At the Dominion conference of the AYPA held at St. Catharines, Ontario, from October 17-19, 1922, Archdeacon McElheran, Winnipeg, responded to the question, "What is the broad outlook of the AYPA?" His response showed some of the idealism which the social gospel had held out for its youthful, child-centered organizations such as the AYPA.

> Every man in every Church and every woman must be brought into touch with the vital, throbbing life [sic] of this [sic] young people's movement--perfect, that is to say fully developed, full-orbed Christians developed soundly on physical lines, trained thoroughly in intellectual matters and well grounded in spiritual things, knowing Christ and the power of His resurrection, keeping their bodies as temples of the Holy Ghost, yielding their [sic] lives as a willing sacrifice in His glorious service, applying the ideals and principles of their Church's creed to the prosaic programme of their daily life.[302]

Sports and games were becoming more commonplace in the daily lives of Canadians and in the programs of young people's societies.

The athletic program of the Local Council had its detractors as well. While Archdeacon McElheran was preparing his eulogy on the potential inherent in the Association, one lay member was publicly presenting the opposite opinion. The controversy arose when one of the lay members of the Local Council published his views concerning the AYPA in the Canadian Churchman in the early fall of 1921, and wished further to substantiate his views before the executive. These views were that the AYPA was not living up to its motto and was only incidently considering Christ in its program. He gave his evidence:

1. That the programmes of both branches and Council were not consistent with the motto, as too much time and discussion were given to sports, socials, etc.
2. That the Council was holding forth as a form of Christian service work in which Christ's name was never mentioned [referring to the York Community Club].
3. That at the annual dinner Christ was virtually forgotten. The time was devoted to the discussion of sports, camp, etc. and prayers neither opened nor closed the event.[303]

These were charges which touched the very heart of the athletic program of the AYPA and ones too serious to be ignored by the executive. Considering the rift of complaints and uncertainties associated with the running of the major sports, the executive was, however, not in a good position to push the issue too far. They responded out of deference to the successes of their athletic and social programs, saying:

> That, as our record is a sufficient answer to all criticisms levelled at the A.Y.P.A., as an inspection of the work of the York Community Club and its accomplishments will prove that it is for Christianity and humanity, as the athletic activities have justified their entrance into the A.Y.P.A., and, as the devoted lives of members who have been brought into the Church through the A.Y.P.A. are testimonials, we the Executive recommend that no controversy be held.[304]

The issue was left to rest but a less than astute observer might have noticed that, following the charges, subsequent executive meeting minutes faithfully recorded that meetings opened and closed with prayer, an activity virtually absent before.

The Local Chapter of the AYPA had shown that indeed its constituent members were keenly interested in sports and games of the most usual variety. In particular, tennis, baseball and hockey enjoyed greatest favour and the executive made every effort to organize these for the benefit of the membership, and to ensure that they would be carried out in a manner befitting high Christian standards. There were detractors, but programs were given cautious approval by the church hierarchy provided high ideals could be maintained. But the committees formed to oversee the various activities proved incapable of controlling the members they sought to organize. The outcome was less than expected, the most critical charge being the use of non-member players to boost the roster; and less frequent but highly visible control problems, including stealing. If such problems were to be found under Christian supervision, was this then a harbinger of what could be expected under more worldly circumstances and, from the perspective of the church, less than ideal circumstances in the public sports arena.

In contrast to the regimen of other structured church programs, AYPA athletics demonstrated the uncertainty of the outside world, and thereby, without doubt, reinforced the traditional preference of the church for low organized activities. In these declining years of the social gospel, there was little ambition left in the church to call forth further efforts to organize social activities.

Physical Education and Christian Nationalism

The legacy of the Victorian nineteenth century, concluded Moir, was an "unprecedented mixture of piety and patriotism,"[305] forces which were to continue to be felt in Canadian society upon entering into the new era of practical Christianity. Methodism in particular felt most strongly this nationalistic impulse, but the sentiment was far broader than any denomination. All denominations were deeply concerned with it because of their common aims: an efficient work force, a moral citizenry and a visible loyalty, in this case to both church and state. The Presbyterian Record made the point quite clear while dealing with its favourite topic, the Sabbath in Canada: "Alike on grounds of patriotism and religion, which ultimately never contradict, we are convinced that this day has a worth for man. . . ."[306] In general the denominations included this nationalism, in the guise of citizenship or service, as a prominent feature of the social program of their leagues, guilds and associations--a program which aimed at more than an understanding of its ideals, but also towards practical achievements.

Suggestions as to how such ideals of citizenship could be put into Christian practice, providing a clearer definition of what good citizenship as an Epworth League member might entail, were cordially presented by the Methodist Church to league members. Practical considerations were outlined in the Canadian Epworth Era, the official organ of the League. The rules were simple: "keep to the practical affairs of everyday life, with its varying needs in your community, and so make it count in the building of a greater Canada." Six headings seemed adequate to list some good examples for the leaguer: patriotism, municipal politics, temperance and prohibition, moral reform, athletics, and general.[307]

Under the heading, patriotism, the leaguer might be expected to organize a patriotic glee club or orchestra, study Canadian scenery, draw maps of the local area and its environs, organize a tree-planting or clean-up campaign, study biographies of great Canadians, or plan a banquet for young boys and men with speakers giving enthusiastic, patriotic addresses. For the study of municipal politics, organizing community or play clubs was a suggestion, as well as community surveys, educational classes for foreigners, and mock councils to name but a few. Temperance involved the study of the tobacco and liquor industries and issues relating to the morality of their use. Moral reform issues also included anti-cigarette campaigns, and community hygiene, sanitation, and community health talks, often followed up by questionnaires and interviews. And for athletics the following was suggested:

1. Organize a tennis, baseball, croquet, basketball, hockey or snowshoe club.
2. Plan a community play day, to include every man, woman and child. Have an occasional "paper chase" among the younger people.
3. Physical games in which no apparatus is needed. (Use "Indoor and Outdoor games," by Chesley, 10¢).
4. Varied calisthenic exercises. Plan for occasional League "tramps." Keep the eyes open while the limbs are active. Then talk about what you have seen.
5. A practical talk by a Christian physician on the value of physical training.[308]

These practical considerations were blended with a good deal of idealism as well.

The range of interest of the church was greater than sports and games and included more formal or institutionalized forms of physical recreation common during the period, including drill, physical training or physical culture, since these terms were often used interchangeably, and physical education, meaning physical training within the educational setting or militia corps. Moir has pointed out the legacy of piety and patriotism which characterized nineteenth-century protestantism, and traditionally the church had maintained slight interest in institutionalized forms of physical recreation to accomplish its religious and patriotic aims. National fervour was building prior to the First World War, but with it came greater national controversy over production efficiency, health and fitness. This legacy, of piety and patriotism, was epitomized in James L. Hughes, Toronto School Inspector, and a regular contributor to Methodist journalism. "The development of patriotic feeling is one of the definite aims of school work in Toronto schools. On 'Empire Day' . . . the annual parade and review of the drill battalions takes place . . ..,"[309] he remarked. The church had its equivalent, "Patriotic Sunday," which by 1912 was a regular feature in the denominations, an outgrowth of intensified nationalism prior to the war. The Presbyterian Department of Social Service and Evangelism outlined the growth of this practice for the General Assembly in 1912.

> Your Board is pleased to be able to report that Patriotic Sunday, namely, the Sunday nearest to the national birthday, is coming to be observed as an institution of Church life. It has

> reason to believe that the preaching of Christian patriotism in one way or another was more general in the Churches and Sabbath Schools of the Church in 1911 than in any previous year, and it hopes that more and more advantage will be taken of this golden opportunity to promote the highest type of citizenship.
>
> Patriotic Sunday falls this year on the 30th of June. Your Board, in co-operation with the Sabbath Schools' Committee, has arranged for the subject of Citizenship to be taken up in all the Sabbath Schools and among the Young People's Societies of the Churches, and the Rev. D. C. MacGregor, Associate Secretary, has prepared, at the request of the Board, a special pamphlet on the subject of "Good Citizenship--its Ideals, its Basic and its Duties."[310]

With the advent of war, this modest growth of national patriotism swelled until it appeared boundless.

Although drill, physical training, and physical education came more to dominate the thinking of the church, especially relating to war and national preparedness, sports and games, per se, were not entirely without national import. The games and sports of youth reflected quite directly on the national character. The Governor-General, Earl Grey, could be found reminding young clerics that this was the case. In an address to a class at Trinity College School, Port Hope, he questioned the affect of poor sportsmanship on the national character. The Canadian Churchman agreed with the Governor-General and added to his comments, "No good can come of coarseness or rudeness in speech or act; and no people can ever be truly great who tolerate the one or the other in home or on the playground, in either the public or private intercourse of life."[311] "Spectator" felt even more strongly that the national consciousness was too important a consideration to be degraded by sports on national holidays.

> But Dominion Day was not inaugurated merely that the youth of one country might test their skill on the campus, or their fleetness in chasing one another around the cinder track. We would not, if we could, interfere in any way with the recreation of a people let loose from their toil. . . . [But] let us not perpetuate forever the custom of calling forth men and women from their ordinary duties to participate in some demonstration and send them home again with nothing better to think of than the results of the ball game, or the victor in the horse race.[312]

In Canadian protestant thinking, patriotism and piety were indeed religiously interconnected. The Anglican church most noticeably held strong views about the sanctity of holidays, secular and religious, which no doubt biased its thinking regarding sports on holidays.

But it was in the more institutional forms of physical recreation, not sports and games, that the church made its most positive contribution. The protestant denominations gave encouragement to more controlled physical forms of patriotism, those more in comfortable harmony with its traditional "gymnasium and showerbath" mentality.

Drill is probably as old as war itself, but as a form of physical recreation known to the church, it was primarily a late nineteenth century innovation, experienced through such organizations as the ineffectual Boys' Brigade movement which spread into Canada in the late 1880s. With a wave of general interest in the militia and the establishment of drill corps in many Canadian urban centres, this type of activity became attached to the church as well, but never in any overwhelming numbers. Especially after 1908 with the establishment of the Strathcona Trust "For the Encouragement of Physical and Military Training in the Public Schools of Canada,"[313] a modicum of new interest was built up in the denominations.

The declining popularity of the Boys' Brigade as a social and religious organization affiliated with the church was well recognized, but nevertheless there was an intellectual appreciation of some of the physical and moral benefits associated with it. After all, the denominations were experiencing the end of a generation of decline in Sunday school enrollment and there was much optimistic talk of alternatives which might reverse the trend. For example, the Twenty-First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1895, raised the Boys' Brigade as an issue concerning the young boy problem and the age-specific decline of boys in the Sunday schools.

> It is well known that it does not draw the boys as might be wished [the young boy problem] and therefore we should have liked to know what services have been rendered by the Boys' Brigade in congregations which have adopted it. But we are informed merely that "in some places the boys have been drilled and disciplined by it." Its object seems to be to advance the Kingdom of Christ among boys and to that end stress is laid by its constitution on attendance at the Bible Class but there is nothing to show that it has effected more than an improvement in the manners of its members.[314]

However, the church had some idea of what this form of exercise was supposed to accomplish.

> And so it is that drill takes the place of genius, and even often surpasses it. We are all bundles of habits, and drill gets its great value because it has for its background this power of habit.[315]

The establishment of a Boys' Cadet Company was one suggestion from an Anglican priest, McKim, in 1905, as a resolution to the boy problem, an idea which was only germinating but which gained considerable momentum with the beginning of the war. McKim stressed that the idea had several things in its favour which warranted its consideration. The fact that strict discipline was enforced and regular practice mandatory was seen as its prime positive characteristic. The result would naturally be stronger physical and moral character, always a quality of deep concern to the church.

> The boy is physically helped; everybody knows the good effect of military drill upon a growing boy. It is a great thing for a boy to have a strong, vigorous body developed and well under control. The boy is helped morally. Properly conducted, the Cadet Corps is a splendid developer of character.

Noting further that some are opposed to things military, McKim concluded that there should be no concerns since this was not the purpose of the organization,

> but rather to graft into the fibre of the boy the true soldier's spirit, the spirit of obedience, of loyalty and of sacrifice, the recognition of responsibility and the shouldering of it. These characteristics make good citizens, but they are not always cultivated in the home. . . .[316]

But there was a growing concern about this "militarism" attached to drill, especially as it related to the school system, which one defender, on the eve of the passage of an Order-in-Council establishing an agreement respecting military drill,[317] called the "bogey of militarism in our schools."[318] Believing that the average Canadian saw no such objection as an obsessive concern for the fostering unduly of a military spirit, the Canadian Churchman defended its introduction into the schools, suggesting that Anglicans were as concerned as anyone that war should be overcome and that a military spirit for war and a taste for arms must not be encouraged. Discipline did not encourage a taste for war, and a simple system of military drill in the schools had many advantages for improvement of manners of the young, which it contended were not a strong point among Canadian youth.[319] When Lord Strathcona established a fund in 1909 for the encouragement of drilling in the schools, the Canadian Churchman called it an act of true patriotism. "Lord Strathcona's munificent gift of $250,000, the income of which is to be applied towards preparing the youth of Canada to do military duty in defense of their country is one of the best object lessons in true patriotism that we have ever had in Canada."[320]

Some Methodists saw the military style of organization as lending itself well to the promotion of missionary work, study, and support of comradeship,[321] however, the Methodist Department of Temperance and Moral Reform held its suspicion of anything military connected with church youth programs. In its characteristically patriotic and flamboyant style, the Department reiterated its concerns.

> There is no body which is more loyal to the Empire, the Sovereign and the flag, than Methodism. She is ever ready to advance the interests of the nation, both by fighting her moral foes which are within and sucking the very life blood of her noble character and honor and defence in time of actual need. But we would deplore anything whose object was to develop the spirit of militarism and implant in our youth the desire for battlefields, with their carnage, their horrors, and their death.
>
> If the Boy Scout and Cadet movements are intended to develop a better manhood in your youth--stronger physique, keener intellect, nobler character, better as patriots and purer as citizens--we welcome them with the very greatest heartiness, and desire to encourage them in every possible way. What we desire is that Canada shall produce an outstanding quality of British subjects and world citizens who shall render valuable assistance in the uplift of the nation in righteousness, and the transforming of the kingdoms of this world into the Kingdom of God.[322]

Many protestant clergy believed firmly that the church and state should be synonymous in matters of social concern,[323] but there were varying opinions about the impact of military drill and its accompanying militarism on the moral and social fibre of the nation. The Department reiterated its stand regarding undue military influences, and of the Boy Scouts and Cadets in particular. "While we welcome most heartily every rightful method of discipline for the growing boys and young men of Canada, we just as deeply deplore any method of discipline whereby they may become tainted by any expectancy of war or the development of a spirit of eagerness to take up arms."[324]

The designers of the Federal militia system were moving further afield in order to spread their message of the national value of the cadet militia corps. The Minister of Militia, Col. Sam Hughes, spoke to the March, 1914 Social Service Congress of the Anglican church on the subject of supervised control of the young, at a time when the denominations had yet to fully implement their system of control, the CSET program. Hughes had his remedy for the young boy problem, using, as had so often the church, the time honoured crime statistic as the barometer for the need of social control.

> As one instance of the good results of this work none of our cadets have ever come before a police court. You see they learn to spend their recreative hours to advantage and not waste them uselessly or in ways that are a good deal worse than waste. We have done much to make this system thorough, and although we have a good deal more to do, we are steadily progressing. The lessons of discipline are most valuable, and to none more than the young.

Hughes added another measure of the potential success of the cadet program which to this point had not been widely received by the church. Moreover, the social gospel was teaching those who cared to listen that there was more to recreation than mere discipline. Hughes continued his address to the Social Service Congress, a body which represented perhaps the vanguard of Anglican social gospellers; using another popular theme, temperance.

> One other good point is that it leads these young men to become good athletes. The chairman and myself are both old athletes, and we realize the value of an athletic training. You will be interested in these points from the view that they discourage the use of intoxicating liquor. The athletic games, the strict discipline and effective control could not be carried out with men who used intoxicants too freely.[325]

Even within the Anglican communion there was a steady resistance against turning young people's societies, per se, into drill corps. The Canadian Churchman argued that young people's societies should not become recruiting agencies and drill corps,[326] but shortly thereafter had a change of heart. "Halt! About Turn!" was the phrase which for the Canadian Churchman signalled that the church had had enough and would hereafter support the war effort to the limit. The belief was that Canadians were fit for the task. "Well may we give thanks to God for the men of our nation, strong, alert and devoted. We are not a nation of puny weaklings, starved by the crabbed hand of ill Providence, but a race of stalwarts nurtured on the rich harvests of a virgin soil."[327] From that point onward many clerics would temporarily lay aside their concerns for militarism, and others their pacifist preferences, while the concern of war was upon them. Temporarily there was a need for greater national discipline, and drill corps and the CSET program offered the young people's societies the opportunity to "do their bit."

The CSET program was advertised as a challenge to Canadian manhood for leadership in boys work. Developed cooperatively with the National Council of the YMCA, the Protestant Sunday School Boards, and the Provincial Sunday School Associations, the CSET program was applauded by these organizations as a beneficial program for teen-age boys. The plan became a national ideal.

> We can scarcely overestimate the value of setting up such a national ideal. The false ideals of life set up in Germany--the ideals of domination and mastership as against the ideals of service--perverted the minds of the youths of Germany and warped them from the ideals of national honor. The world agony to-day is the logical outcome of this pagan ideal released throughout that unfortunate nation yesterday.[328]

In the hearts of Canadian youth, it was hoped such a perverted ideal might be replaced by one resembling closely that of the social gospel. Youth and Service continued, and elaborated.

> Even before the war broke out the churches and Young Men's Christian Associations in Canada had united on this ideal for Canadian boys. It is based on all that we know about Jesus and his growth and development during his boyhood years. It recognizes the value of health and strength, and clear reasoning after truth, an appreciation of moral and spiritual beauty and perfection, and all with a view to efficient service for others; the will to serve, not the will to power.[329]

Many of the citizenship ideals elaborated throughout the years were incorporated into the CSET program in its Citizenship tests. The Mentor's Manual outlined some pertinent examples for the leader's consideration, including participation in such community welfare schemes as the 1) Playground movement, 2) Big Brother movement, 3) Anti Tuberculosis campaign, 4) Learn to Swim campaign, 5) Safety First campaign, and 6) Baby Welfare campaign.[330] The CSET program, however, was only in its infancy and did not as yet have the following needed to provide the large numbers of physically trained boys and men who were required in the short run to actively support the war effort.

The usually liberal "Spectator" was busy calling on Anglicans to adopt military training throughout the ranks of church youth organizations, and many others were following the same course independently. Initially there was a recognition that there was in Canadian youth some lack of physical fitness despite the robust rhetoric lauding the virility of Canadian physical manhood nurtured on the harvest of a virgin soil. The solution was to have more physical training irrespective of wartime motivation.

> Let us by all means have more physical training with the simpler military movements, which, after all, are only a part of any adequate system of physical drill, and let us at the same time instill in our boys the principles of true patriotism, even, if need be, to the sacrifice of one's life.[331]

The system which was preferred was physical training similar to that offered within the school system for military cadet training.

The Strathcona Trust set out a number of requirements based principally on an agreement between the Province of Nova Scotia educational authorities and the federal Minister of Militia, approved by Order-in-Council dated August 13, 1908, which required among other things, "all teachers (of both sexes) to obtain certificates of competency to instruct in physical training, and also to encourage male teachers to obtain certificates in advanced physical training, military drill and rifle shooting."[332] The object of the Trust which was subsequently set up was in keeping with the earlier agreement, and for purposes in harmony with the temperament of most

Canadian clerics.

The principles read in part:

> His object being not only to improve the physical and intellectual capabilities of the children, by inculcating habits of alertness, orderliness and prompt obedience, but also to bring up the boys to patriotism, and to a realization that the first duty of a free citizen is to be prepared to defend his country, the intention of the Founder is that, while physical training and elementary drill should be encouraged for all children of both sexes attending public schools, especial importance is to be attached to the teaching of military drill generally to all boys, including rifle shooting for boys capable of using rifles.[333]

While the nationalism of the denominations allowed the physical training aspects of the system to prevail, there was an underlying current of disrespect for the military connotation within the system of physical training. At the close of the war, this latent disrespect was to emerge.

The militia training system had as its base many important ingredients with which the denominations could concur. The organization of school cadet corps was similar to those established within the various church Sunday schools and young people's societies. The training itself was embodied in a Syllabus of Training, as adopted by the Executive Council of the Strathcona Trust. It outlined various types of drill--squad, musketry, target, signalling, etc.--with the principles in mind to develop a manly spirit, train the body, and teach the use of weapons.[334] The purposes for developing manly spirit were to help the cadet bear fatigue, privation and danger cheerfully, a requirement of discipline as much as fitness. Drill in close quarters was intended to produce discipline, cohesion and the habits of complete and instant obedience to command. Games were included in the curriculum, too, for their purported educational value of teamwork and individual prowess. The rhetoric of the National Education Conference, Winnipeg, 1919, did not sharply differ from that of protestant clergy who gave support to the spread of the cadet system during wartime.

> That as the aim of this conference is the directing of public opinion to the need of education in character building and citizenship, and as a sound body, a well disciplined mind, individual effort and co-operation are essentials; therefore be it resolved that more stress be laid on physical education. That in addition Cadet training for boys from 12 to 18 years of age be introduced into all our schools--it having been proven that where training has been intelligently given, it has been of inestimable value to the boys, the school and the nation--in the inculcation of such qualities, sentiments and powers as reliability, patriotism, comradeship, self-control, self-reliance, self-direction, initiative and discipline.[335]

The Minister of Education for Ontario, H. J. Cody, in dealing with the issue of "Religion and Education" concurred that the general aim of education was to accomplish the same ambitions, but in a different setting. "By Education I mean a sound body, a trained intelligence and a reverent spirit, which in combination will make our youths in due time efficient and God-fearing citizens."[336] Again the church and state were not at odds with the aims behind the cadet system; however, the methods increasingly vexed the social gospel element.

The concern for militarism before the war faded somewhat with the dire necessity to react to the call of war. The small voice of pacifism too had been choked out by the cry to arms even as the war began.[337] However, with the close of hostilities, Methodism in particular represented by its social gospel wing, the Department of Evangelism and Social Service, renewed its campaign, now that it was no longer unpatriotic to do so, against militarism in the cadet system. The Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Department, 1925, continued the tone set before the war.

> In view of the generally recognized fact that the spirit of militarism constitutes a perpetual menace of war and cannot in any way be reconciled with a Christian view of life or of human relationships, and in view of the fact that this spirit, under the guise of patriotism finds expression in many ways and specifically in the system of Cadet training, in vogue in our public schools;
>
> We would therefore express our conviction that the highest patriotism is not dependent upon, nor promoted by any system of military training, but that though ultimate defence of the country depends upon the character of its citizens and their loyalty to Christian ideals; we deplore the arbitrary conditions which make the reception of a grant for physical training conditional upon the adoption of the Cadet System and the supervision of this work by the Military Authorities; we believe that the system of military training in our schools is essentially the same as that which came to such perfection in Prussia and which is so violently denounced, and we would urge upon the Federal Government that the system of Cadet Training should be substituted by some approved system of Physical Training and recreational activity which shall be free from the insidious influences of the present system.[338]

But after the war confusion was evident within Methodist ranks about this question as this motion could not find sufficient supporters, and was referred back to the Committee. A now older social gospel did not possess the same spirit it had had during its youth.

Fully-fledged pacifists within the denominations emerged as well and were not lacking courage, particularly the Educational Committee of the Toronto Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, represented by highly active lay women from Toronto area churches. As the social gospel changed in character, the passion for "plans and programs" receded as a consequence, and many former social gospellers turned their enthusiasm towards the pacifist movement.[339] The Peace and Freedom League, for example, had a definite platform concerning the militia program and physical education in Canadian schools.

The numerous propaganda pamphlets of the League outlined their basic concerns pertaining to drill, physical training and physical education. The extent of the problem, as judged by the League, was the alarming number of cadets in Canada, a country which had publicly renounced war as a national policy.[340] Statistics bore out this state of affairs.

Comparison Based on 1926 Statistics

Cadets in Great Britain and North of Ireland		34,156
Cadets in Canada		112,463
Population of Great Britain	1921 Census	42,767,530
Population of Canada	1921 Census	8,788,481

The statistical conclusion was that Canada had three times as many cadets as Britain in absolute numbers and, proportion to population, sixteen times as many; the emotional conclusion was that Canada was too militaristic. Department of Defense statistics only aided their case. Statistics quoted in pacifist literature for 1928 showed that at normal schools and other centres, fifty-five courses of physical training were being offered; moreover, seventy-six percent of the forty-six instructors at these institutions were officers and N.C.O.'s of the permanent militia.[341] Antimilitarists had three basic objections to this system of training in normal schools.

First, was the objection that physical training was not a substitute of physical education, and the highest ranking Canadian authorities were quoted for support. The denominations had traditionally lent their support to the playground movement, and a lack of freedom in the military system was a critical point of disagreement.

> Doctors and educators both declare that military training is not physical education and cannot be substituted for it. A doctor in charge of the physical examination in one of our universities said recently "The aims of cadet training and physical education are quite different. Physical education begins with life. Its objects are body building, the formation of health habits in the individual and the community, character building by means of play." Professor Lambe, Director of Physical Education at McGill University, further stated to the Ontario Educational Association that to obtain the greatest benefit from exercise or sport the drill element must be replaced by the emphasis on freedom and play.[342]

The second objection was that cadet training associated "patriotism with militarism and throws the glamour of pageantry around the essential brutality of war. . . ." This theme was one which was occasionally heard concerning the Boys Brigade. The third objection was that cadet training provided no education for citizenship, an essential ingredient of patriotism from the denominational perspective and one which it attempted to put into service within the many citizenship and service departments of the young people's societies and brotherhoods.[343] The league also claimed that there was support for the movement against the cadet system from labour, the United Farmers, some churches and religious associations and peace societies. In reality it is probable that both conservative and moderate liberal elements within the ranks of denominational clergy supported the cadet corps for its benefits in solving the young boy problem, applauding the apparent changes in manners and deportment, believing as much in the theory of "inevitable progress" applied not only to social but to educational thinking.[344]

These objections prompted a number of recommendations which were aimed at rectifying the overemphasis of the military influence. Teacher training courses in physical education were recommended to be open, divorced from all military control. The funds spent on the cadet system were thought to be better spent if applied to furthering physical education under the control of Departments of Education. Furthermore, it was recommended that the tutelage of civilians should be given to civilian institutions, under civilian control. The last recommendation upheld the mandate of the League, "That all teachers be encouraged in the endeavour to make the school the culture ground of a future citizenship prepared loyally to fulfill the pledges of our country."[345]

In summary, the social gospel, though in decline, maintained its interest in Christian nationalism which found expression in physical education. The social gospel, too, held to its belief that the young boy problem could be solved through practical methods, methods which had at their centre an important place for physical recreation. This view was reinforced through outside influences especially by American literature on the young boy and on boys' work methods which called for greater, more practical church involvement.

The message of the social gospel was that more was required in modern society than the symbolic gymnasium and showerbath to deal with adolescence. This resulted in a broader attack on the young boy problem from within the denominations. Church social reformers studied the meaning of modern sports and games in order to learn more about this aspect of life which was so popular with Canadian youth. The church was in search of a suitable policy regarding physical recreation and sport, one which would appeal to both youth exuberance and clerical conservatism.

Many social reformers believed that they had found the ideal program in Canadian Standard Efficiency Training. This program, developed collaboratively between the YMCA and the protestant churches, was approved as suitable for Christian adolescents. CSET expanded significantly within the church during the First World War. But while social gospellers accepted CSET as a balanced program, Canadian youth preferred sports and games. Under the influence of the positive social gospel message towards physical recreation and sports, sports programming became an integral part of young people's societies. But the tendency of sport was often not towards the idealism of a balanced life but towards the pursuit of winning. The social gospel fostered the growth of physical recreation and sport within the church but with its decline a formidable force for the continued maintenance of it within the church was lost.

CHAPTER 3

PHYSICAL RECREATION AND PROTESTANT SOCIAL ETHICS

The Legacy of Individualism

One of the greatest challenges of the social gospel was to overcome the fundamental individualism of traditional protestantism. Traditional individualism carried with it a sense of strict moral probity in which the individual was essentially responsible for his own conduct, where individual conscience was ultimately responsible and answerable to God. This responsibility applied to all aspects of life--in business, politics, and social behaviour. It was the challenge of the perfectionism of the new or liberal theology of the social gospel to overshadow this endemic belief, to counter it with a social theology based on

> the belief that perfection was attainable in this world, that social conditions must be improved if man were to achieve that perfection, that collective action must replace individual [action] to effect changes, that legislation could produce morality or at least produce a social milieu conducive to morality.[1]

Sports, recreation and leisure, so often purposefully left by the church to the individual conscience, demonstrated this traditional belief in individualism.

This position was made abundantly clear, for example, by the Twenty-Fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian church (1899) in dealing with the question of amusements, a platform on which there was unanimous agreement according to Christie.[2]

> It is evident from the spirit of the reports, that in this sphere much is left, and wisely left, to the guidance of the individual conscience, and to the sense of responsibility which religion creates. . . . Complaint is made in a few reports, of excessive devotion to dancing and card playing, and in other reports of a like spirit towards outdoor sports. But these references are too vague to permit of any pronouncement. What is harmless amusement and refreshment to one, is weariness and wickedness to another. If anyone has not principle enough and grace enough to guide himself in his amusements, as well as in his more serious duties, then he has not enough to enable him to lead a Christian life. He needs to have grace ministered to him. There are two points on which the reports agree. 1st. That recreation should be confined to legitimate times. 2nd. That they ought not to be carried to excess but kept within reasonable bounds. It is felt there is a tendency at present to devote altogether too much time to amusements on the part of many young people. This excessive pursuit of pleasure is highly injurious to character and very fatal to the religious life.[3]

Churchmen of similar conviction were certain that the proper role of the church was one of non-interference, to leave sport "to the guidance of the individual conscience."

With the rise of the social gospel which continued earlier campaigns of moral reform,[4] individualism gave way to an admixture of a social gospel and a gospel of the individual. Supporters of the social gospel movement, including mainly educated clergy and prominent Christian businessmen, many of whom were involved directly with social services, young people's organizations, and boys' work agencies,[5] were more likely to view the system rather than the individual as the cause of social injustice. By way of contrast, conservative churchmen were receptive to traditional evangelism which emphasized personal, ethical issues, and tended to identify sin with individual acts.[6] They were less ready to accept sociological concepts with their tendency to emphasize less restrictive personal discipline.[7] In the middle was a broad group who presumably were more liberal in spirit and who may represent the general direction in which Canada was moving as a whole.[8] The challenge to liberals and social gospellers alike was for them to divorce themselves sufficiently from traditional social ethics regarding the place of individualism in sport and physical recreation, in order to be able to examine physical recreation more objectively to see if it had the potential for social regeneration and the improvement of social conditions. By 1910 the General Conference of the Methodist church reported that those who sought individual regeneration and those who called for social reform were beginning to work in unison.[9] But even after a generation of social gospel influence, there was confusion in the popular mind between the social gospel and the gospel of the individual.

In an article in the Canadian Churchman entitled appropriately "The Social Gospel or the Gospel of the Individual," this state of confusion was evident regarding the nature of the social gospel. On one hand, after a generation of social gospel influence its mission was becoming more widely known, but on the other, traditional individualism was regaining some of its former significance with a decline of the social gospel following the war, where men were "seeking to understand their own ideals and aspirations" and turning away from social plans and programs.[10]

> The "good news" announced by Jesus is a message for the transformation of personal character, but character is a matter of social relationships. There is no such thing as an isolated individual dwelling in a social vacuum, any more than there is a society which is not made up of individuals. So there can be no real preaching of the individual gospel apart from its social meaning, nor any effective proclamation of the social gospel that does not rest on an appeal to individual hearts and wills.[11]

But to many Canadians, both layman and cleric, the search within the social gospel to identify the proper place of individualism, must have seemed to be nothing more than a variation of an old and familiar theme.

A Presbyterian cleric, Rev. R. G. MacBeth, in his book The Burning Bush and Canada, echoed Canadian Churchman sentiments while addressing the issue of socialism. "It ought to be clear to all thinking people," he asserted, "that the unit of human society, which is the individual, must be reached by the power of the transforming Gospel before evils in human society can be cured."[12] The changing mood of the Methodist Department of Temperance and Moral Reform reflected this struggle of opposing views as the Department, renamed the Department of Evangelism and Social Service, sought appropriate titles for its annual reports. Such titles as "Individual Regeneration and Social Reconstruction" (1917-18), "The Urgency of Evangelism" (1918-19), "Evangelism and Environment" (1920-21), and "Social Regeneration and Individual Christianity" (1923-24) were indicative. Obviously in either traditional or social gospel theology, individual salvation and social ethics were of paramount importance to the protestant church.

The church stressed two basic principles for the role of physical recreation in society, both of which lay traditionally in the purview of individualism. The Canadian Churchman identified these in relation to sports: "The object of all outdoor games," it concluded, "is two-fold--to promote bodily health and to develop character."[13] More importantly, perhaps, is the view that both these concerns were of vital interest to the church in its search for appropriate social ethics, vital because of the need for service and equally vital because of its desire to encourage a broader national perspective in the dealings of the individual with social problems. The former concern, health, was essentially an aspect of character since it was most often not interpreted solely as physical health but more widely as including physical, mental and spiritual health. These were also the essential concerns of character building.

In fact, health and physical recreation and even nationalism were so closely linked in spirit that invariably such topics were lumped together. For example, Rev. J. O. Miller, in writing his textbook for Canadian schools just prior to the turn of the century, entitled Short Studies in Ethics, incorporated three consecutive chapters called "Patriotism," "Bodily Exercise," and "Habit," in order to deal with these subjects more thoroughly. He not only prompted love of country and obedience to law, but further encouraged the individual to be physically prepared for defense of its existence and for promotion of its welfare. The need for bodily strength to sustain these ideals is apparent. Miller considered patiotism a sacred thing and a sacred duty.[14]

The habit of exercise, Miller claimed, was another sacred duty and vital as well. He argued that "the only way to bring the body to a high state of cultivation and to keep it there is to form the habit of exercise. . . ."[15] He explained the rationale and mechanics of doing so in his chapter on "Bodily Exercise." The importance of exercise focused upon four points; that bodily exercise promoted bodily strength, mental activity, energy, and moral life; in a word, character. Strength could be accomplished through regular exercise with dumbbells. Mental activity could be stimulated through the proper application of exercise, leading to mental health. Miller elaborated:

> Parents often complain that their sons are stupid, and are not able to see through things, and have poor memories, when the trouble lies chiefly in the fact that the blood is unable to carry off the worn-out elements of the brain, because it is not kept pure by regular Exercise and fresh air. The secret of mental activity is complete bodily health.[16]

In the practical application of the principle of bodily exercise, Miller believed, and many others would agree, that it contributed towards a better morality. This was accomplished by the general optimism which regular exercise imparted, but also directly because it left little time for idleness and introspection. He explained:

> The relation of Exercise to morality is very close. If a young man fills up his spare time with Exercise, he runs no risk of going to the bad morally. After a day's work, and active Exercise to end it, he needs a great deal of sleep; and his sleep is sound and refreshing. The sleeplessness that arises from loafing causes an immense amount of mischief to the moral nature--impure thoughts, or half-waking dreams, with, perhaps, degrading habits growing out of them. When the body is in a good state of health, man's faith in God, and in truth, purity, and honor, is bright and steadfast.[17]

Discussion on this aspect of morality closed with a comment on the value of keeping the body clean, an activity of importance as well, according to Miller. "It is just as necessary to keep the outside of the body clean and sweet as the inside; and as the inside is being continuously cleansed by pure blood, the outside should be cleansed regularly with water."[18] Although Miller suffered to an extent from the gymnasium and showerbath mentality of traditional denominational protestantism, he recognized that the habit of exercise might play an important part in the individual's outlook towards himself and his national and religious obligations.

A contemporary of Miller, the Methodist evangelist, H. T. Crossley, published a book the same year directed primarily at the young, and dealing with many of the same ethical issues raised in Miller's publication. The book, entitled Practical Talks on Important Themes, gave detailed attention to pointers about health, a topic on which Crossley had considerable personal interest and experience. "Man is a trinity in unity," he began, "having three natures, the physical, the intellectual, and the spiritual. Shall we not have the worthy ambition to endeavour to make the most of ourselves in every respect, and so be perfect men and women, and not weaklings or monstrosities?"[19] He firmly believed that it should be part of our religious duty to keep our physical health; it was a natural activity for the consecration of the body to Christ.[20] To accomplish this aim Crossly outlined certain laws of health, which, if all knew and practiced, would do well for the individual and the race. These laws came under nine headings including, for example, Pure air, Cleanliness, Suitable recreation and a Contented and peaceful mind.[21] Crossley's prescription for exercise did not differ from Miller's in fundamental emphasis; the primary purpose being devotion to service, although he appreciated more fully a number of the attributes of exercise. He began his discussion of exercise showing this fundamental disposition. "Work is a primary law of health. Indolence makes people weak, sick, lack appetite and die prematurely, who, had they been energetic and industrious, would have been healthy, had a good appetite and lived for many years more."

He proclaimed that daily systematic gymnastic exercises were enjoyable and healthful, but should not be "so violent and long continued, as to cause exhaustion or stiffness."[22] He applauded the physical benefits derived from open air exercise as well as from gymnastics. Concerning his personal regimen, Crossley remarked, "I usually manage, every day, to get some vigorous exercise, such as running, rapid walking, riding a bicycle, splitting wood or rowing, that will start the perspiration and cause me to breathe heavily and fast." He believed that daily outdoor exercise was "better than tonics, appetizers and other drugs."[23]

Before the turn of the century, most churchmen would have agreed with the observations of Miller and Crossley that exercise was a physical benefit. But also they would have agreed that if exercise was to be pursued as a Christian duty, it should be done at the discretion of the individual. The benefits of physical recreation could be obtained through a variety of individual athletic and recreational activities, with little or no need for organized athletics and sports. To the generation of Miller and Crossley, before the rise of the social gospel, physical recreation carried with it only limited social implications.

Mind, Body, Soul--Character

The importance of social gospel philosophy to physical recreation was that it stressed the social implications of social action. Any discussion of physical recreation and sports invariably brought into play the notion of character--a fundamental unit of protestant social understanding, which was often interpreted loosely enough to encompass both personal and social ethical issues. Character was also a term indigenously linked with the sphere of health, exercise and physical recreation, and under the influence of the social gospel these issues would come to be thought of as natural and sane ways to capture the world for Jesus Christ.[24] The idea of character, which traditionally applied to the individual and was primarily the responsibility of the home to provide,[25] took on a broader meaning with the rise of the social gospel and the sociological idiom in theological thought. Even with the continued prevalence of individualism in traditional social and theological thought and renewed interest in it with the decline of the social gospel, there was a growing tendency to accompany it with a sense of social significance which led to an interpretation of the effectiveness of the individual (and his activities) as a member of society.[26] This was a large step forward from the generation of social thinking represented by Miller and Crossley.

Methodist denominationalism, according to Magney, recognized that character was significant in the social order.[27] Sermon topics regularly dealt with aspects of character building, particularly directed towards adolescents.[28] The term became even more significant as the applied Christianity of the social gospel turned its thinking more to socio-ethical terms, entwining the ethics of individualism with that of the theology of the new social order. In his classical study of the rise of the social gospel in the United States, Hopkins recognized this interest in socio-ethical concerns as one of the fundamental tenets of the movement. He outlined a number of attributes of the social gospel equally applicable to North America as a whole, including:

> (1) certain criticism of orthodoxy's traditional other-worldly and individualistic outlook. Social Christianity (2) founded its claims upon a fresh emphasis on the social and humanitarian aspects of the second commandment and stressed the need for the development of an adequate technique with which to apply the law of love to the complexities of modern society. Christian ethics (3) based on the teachings of Jesus and the Old Testament were discussed as the norm for social standards. Salvation was conceived (4) in ethical-social terms, and (5) the inclusive religious social ideal was described as the kingdom of God on earth. The church and her ministers (6) were summoned in the name of God and humanity to the leadership of the new social crusade.[29]

In the British milieu of Canadian culture the term, character, implying of course good character, took on a special meaning regarding the physical recreation of the individual. Character, with its social meaning and its social application, became an essential part in understanding the role the protestant church saw for sports and games as an identifiable part of Canadian culture.[30]

A closer inspection of the term, character, reveals that it was indeed a fundamental unit of proper Christian sociability, although surprisingly it was never well defined. Some definitions seemed trite at best. Character might be thought of as "what you are in the dark" or simply a bundle of habits, "habits which originate in the mind and are registered on the body."[31] Such definitions, however, provide little insight and only a vague idea of its importance. In more religious terms, character epitomized Jesus and his apostles. The Presbyterian Record, fond of culling, reprinted a prominent Englishman's opinion on the subject of Jesus and the kingdom of character:

> Jesus was an absolute and unreserved believer in character, and was never weary of insisting that a man's soul was more than his environment, and that he must be judged not by what he held and had, but by what he was and did. He only has founded a kingdom on the basis of character; he only has dared to believe that character will be omnipotent.[32]

The social gospel sought such a plan. For the religious educator, the word carried a certain meaning as well. The Teachers' Assistant viewed character as a spiritual attainment: "The impress of the divine image in the human soul."[33] The method it promoted for the development of character was the Christian CSET program with its rounded emphasis on the intellectual, physical, social, and religious aspects of life.

According to Richardson and Loomis[34] in their book The Boy Scout Movement Applied by the Church, there were four essential steps in the development of character. First was the discovery of certain elementary facts and laws of nature. This involved the basic recognition that some things are agreeable and others are not. The second was the development of a true self-consciousness usually between the ages of nine and twelve. During this period the boy learns the voluntary control and regulation of the instinctive impulses. In the third step when adolescence is reached, the education of a social sentiment becomes an essential factor in character building, where "loyalty to the simplest form of social organization is one of the most important factors in this higher plane of moral conduct."[35] Sports and games may play a role in this step of the process, but to the church the essential response was the inculcation of spiritual virtues. The final step, the highest stage, is when right conduct is regulated regardless of praise or blame or social environment; in other words, the transition from an individual to a collective concern. Moreover, in the latter stages of the process much of the "rebellion, hypocrisy, and other forms of unsocial and antisocial conduct of adults is due," it was maintained by some, "to the unnatural prolongation of authority as a mode of control."[36] This belief often led to support of indirect modes of teaching character, and the implication for sports and games as character building agents was widely accepted at the turn of the century. Despite the temptation to reduce the concept to the level of myth, in the popular mind of the late Victorian or Edwardian Canadian, character had real, not mythical, implications for conduct, particularly relating to the area of physical recreation and ultimately for the church's perception of it as an agent of social regeneration.

Concern for the development of a sound physique[37] and the development of character brought into greater prominence in theological discussions the relationship between mind, body and soul, a topic of long standing interest with the church, but one which gained additional attention as the church sought its social ideal. Most denominational adherents would not disagree with the historic view which acknowledged the entire being, as the Canadian Epworth Era argued concerning the Epworth League:

> It seeks to develop the physical nature with its gymnasium, baths, etc., to culture the intellect with study classes, and above all to nourish the spiritual nature with its religious services and opportunities for Christian work. This is a most happy combination, which as far as possible the Epworth League should also follow. . . . Let us remember that the gospel is intended to save the whole man, that all his powers may be consecrated to Christ.[38]

The attempt of the social gospel was to refine this adage to meet a new social circumstance and in doing so it created a more liberal, positive ideal of the secular world, one where "love of beauty, the power of human reason, the wonder of the human body" became the allies of the Christian religion.[39] With the rise of the social gospel, and its corollary social sciences, moreover, the issue became fundamentally important for those espousing greater social involvement within the church. For it was on this issue of mind, body, spirit relationship as seen through the scriptures that the church expressed its new social ethics concerning the right use of physical recreation as a tool of social regeneration. It strove to take this benignly personal topic and raise it to the level of social consciousness.

The American author, John Marshall Barker, in his book The Social Gospel and the New Era, addressed the question of where the interest of the church should extend in the resolution of social problems. His answer: "The boundary lines of the church's activity in social reconstruction may be safely drawn at health and morals. . . . Whatever concerns the physical well-being and the moral uplift of society should certainly concern the church."[40] By 1895 the social gospel was reaching a crest in the United States and American literature had articulated many of the issues relating to health and physical recreation. The initiative of American social crusaders set an example for others to follow who wished to study the relationship between body, mind and spirit. "Modern science teaches the unity of human nature," declared J. R. Commons in his Social Reform and the Church published in 1894. "Psychology, physiology, sociology, all the sciences which treat of man, declare that the two elements of which he is composed--body and soul--are not antagonistic but interdependent."[41] Canadian appreciation of the subject continued to view the body-soul relationship less in terms of sociological thinking but relied more on its heritage of individualism with its heavy emphasis on sin.

Whether Presbyterians believed fully in the words of the Presbyterian Record or not, this journal came out fully in support of physical care of the body, especially in reference to the question of temperance. But its interest was broader than one issue alone. "The time has gone by," it began in an 1897 article on how the body influences the soul, "when anyone can scoff at muscular Christianity, because the world is learning that to obtain the best spiritual results the body must be brought to the highest point of physical perfection." But there was little indication that the social concern of denominationalism had yet risen at this early date into prominent public view. The arguments which followed were derived from traditional theology. "In this constant struggle between the high and the lower nature, the flesh will come off conqueror unless the appetite is controlled and the body is kept clean--a fitting habitat in which the soul may dwell."[42] But significantly there was room within this theology for bodily exercise, although there was no indication given just how this care should take place.

By the First World War, however, consideration for a wider interpretation of the gospel concerning body-soul relationship was being spread by a number of evangelical churchmen. William T. Gunn, in his book, His Dominion, published in 1917 for the Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, argued that the gospel cannot be solely negative with regards to this important part of life.

> Our Gospel must be positive as well as negative. We must learn that, if it is divine to heal the sick, it is divine also to keep people healthy, that if it is Christian to denounce bad amusements it is Christian also to provide helpful recreation, that the soul and the body act and react upon each other, and that we can not help either without helping both, that a "merry heart doeth good like a medicine. . . .[43]

Gunn expressed a viewpoint similar to that of Commons', that "the sciences of men today teach us the mutual harmony and affinity of body and soul. They show how these shape and re-shape each other"[44] but without the sociological rubric. The Presbyterian Record, representing the most conservative of the denominations regarding amusements, attempted to keep pace with the times as well. Its June 1912 Guild Topic on Recreation acknowledged the history of its thinking towards the body. "There was a time when good religious people were inclined to ignore and despise the body; but to-day the best Christian people look upon the human body as a sacred thing."[45] A later Young People's Topic for July 1914 elaborated upon the theme further.

> Religion and amusements have often been regarded as enemies. The world of amusements was considered a sort of Vanity Fair where, if the faithful entered, they were liable to perish; an ally of the trinity of evils that are opposed to God--the world, the flesh and the devil.[46]

Rev. W. R. McIntosh, who contributed the article, went further and advocated play and sport for their ethical significance, something he claimed the church had chosen to ignore. A more positive attitude by the church toward the harmony of body and soul was needed to accompany any changes in social attitude towards the place of sport or physical recreation in general, in order that the church might use it as an agent of social regeneration.

This was recognized by C. A. Myers, a Presbyterian cleric well known for his work with youth in western Canada. In his support of the CSET program he was in harmony with Miller's conviction that improper care of the body leads inevitably to moral decadence. His wording was paraphrased from the Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests handbook:

> The basis of all development is physical. Ninety-five per cent. of all interests find physical expression. Seventy-five per cent. of the boy gangs are organized for physical activity. A strong, healthy body counteracts wrong tendencies. A physical weakling is apt to be selfish. Physical training should, therefore, be encouraged. We must have regard to the body because it is the instrument of the soul.

> Jesus also recognized the place of the body in his work. He cared for it, healed it, cured it, relieved its sufferings, provided for its needs in feeding the multitude, etc., etc.
>
> In His teachings, too, He gave its proper place, recognizing its function and needs in food and clothing. "The body," He pointed out, "is more than the meat," but on the other hand, "the life is more than the body."
>
> To be spiritual on the physical side is to conform to God's laws for the body; the physical life has a spiritual significance; it, too, is God's.[47]

However, unlike many others who would find the courage to preach on the benefits of physical recreation, Myers not only preached but he acted upon his inclinations. Concerning the young boy problem, he advocated before the Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian church in 1913 that the church become actively involved in all aspects of young life during the

> period of adolescence that is fraught with so much possibility for good or evil; it is the period of reconstruction and sometimes revolution--the period of revolt from authority and control,--the period of criminal tendency and immorality, and yet the period of all others most open to religious impressions and ready for a true appeal for the dedication of the life to Christ.[48]

Having first recognized the ethical significance of ignoring the physical side of existence, he later became an ardent supporter of the CSET program with its recognition of the physical body.

Although there were those who did not support the belief that the scriptures recognized that there was any real distinction to be made between the soul, mind or spirit,[49] theological arguments or concern for higher criticism were not the prime motivation or impetus for giving attention, study and recognition to the body. This came primarily from the spread of the social sciences with its social imperative to understand social structure and function. It also extended into religious education since advances in current educational and social thought often led religious educators towards a greater application of this knowledge in forms of social service. Some of the concerns of religious educators centered around the lack of unity of body and soul in the teaching of social ethics, a subject of growing interest since the turn of the century. Hayward, in an article entitled "What is There in Religious Education?" summarized this concern within the framework of modern social thought:

> Religious education begins with, and seeks to carry out in its whole process, a belief in the unity of life. It has abandoned the attempt to split a human life into departments as if a lad's mind could be sent to school, his body to the gymnasium, and his spiritual nature to the church. It recognizes that in each of these places, not one section of the boy, but his complete nature--mind, body and spirit--is at mercy, for good or ill, of his environment. It is for this reason that the walls of many Sunday-school rooms throughout Canada are emblazoned with charts and pennants that speak of the Christian life for boys and girls as a fourfold life. . . .
>
> Religious education, let it be said again, in all its practical methods, gives and must always give complete and hearty recognition to the place in human life of those divine elements that move within the soul and work their will in the building of character and in the forming and the transformation of man. The religious educator is a character-engineer.[50]

Another author, Frank Langford, an active boys' worker, agreed with Hayward in support of greater attention to the physical body by the church. In an article on "The Why of Religious Education," he stated the high purpose for which physical health was necessary. He wanted man's spiritual nature to be cultivated, "but we shall fail in the effort to secure that spiritual growth if we utterly ignore the training and interests of the body. Of course we want high intellectual attainments, but not at the expense of high and worthy character."[51] Such statements of the higher spiritual purposes for physical recreation had not been evident a generation earlier, a generation before the rise of the social gospel in Canadian protestantism.

This awakening of greater appreciation for the body found expression in a number of ways, although it was slow to mature. One such outlet was in support of the play movement, an adjunct of the playground movement no doubt, but no narrow interpretation of it. But during this period, the term "play" was essentially a generic term applying most certainly to the provision of playgrounds but generally interpreted to mean amusement and recreation in general. One result of a better appreciation of play was the development of supervised playgrounds, but this sense of necessity and opportunity provided by physical exercise had more far reaching influence as play was understood to mean more than playgrounds. Of greater significance is the fact that once the rationale for the necessity of play became established, this led to the general encouragement of physical education and recreation programming.

Play could be viewed as a means of grace. The Presbyterian Board of Social Service and Evangelism in its Annual Report for 1912 outlined its optimism for play as a tool for social betterment. "Properly supervised play grounds in the summer season are a means of grace as are public baths and places of recreation generally." The rationale for such conviction rested on the belief that "the play of children and the amusement of adults are of great importance to morals. . . ."[52] Methodists took particular interest in the support of play as an ethical ideal. The Canadian Epworth Era, quoting an American source, outlined the relationship between play and character.

> "Play is not simply an innocent thing, it is a divinely ordered thing. It is the principal lesson in God's kindergarten. Without it the child could not be normally developed." The child romps and plays to increase his strength. The youth finds in the playground the means of developing the manly traits of character. The man of middle age can find in the hours of recreation the opportunity of refreshing his mind and body for the strain of business.[53]

The Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian church acknowledged a similar point of view with regards to the primacy of play in child life. The reason for support was the belief, carefully maintained over the decades, that play and recreation had inherent qualities useful for the teaching of social ethics.

> I have heard one of the leading educationists of Canada say that a boy or girl learns more for good or ill in the fifteen minutes he spends in the playground than in the longer period he spends in the school room; for in the playground the boy is active, there he attends to his drill, learns fair play--which is nothing but justice; there he learns team play, which is but the social spirit.[54]

It was the role of the social gospel to encourage the practical application of such philosophy.

Anglicans too were by no means unconcerned with the importance of teaching social ethics befitting a Christian sentiment. "Spectator," with his usual interest in the affairs of the day, prodded educators for their lack of interest in the ethics of the playground. He believed that the moral value of play extended far beyond the time and space of the playyard. "We have never heard

> We have never heard the subject of the ethics of the playground discussed by our educators, and yet there, perhaps, more than anywhere else, is the characteristic inclination of child character manifested, and there, aboveall other places, may the higher ideal of life be inculcated.[55]

His plea would not go unanswered. The plea, however, was not simply for recognition of the influence of play but for support of a broader program of teaching ethics within the schools. In the rhetoric of the English tradition, the benefits of such a system appear larger than life.

> The spirit of fair play; the spirit that impels youth to "play the game," and not some selfish variation of the same; the spirit of give and take, not with reluctance but good cheer--these are some of the important lessons of the playground, and the skilled instructors will be there to observe and unobtrusively direct.[56]

The ethics of the playground, so called, were very much compatible with the ethical ideal of protestant denominationalism.

The General Conference of the Methodist church gave its support to the further extension of study and preparation in the area of recreation. The Eleventh Conference reiterated that the whole church should become more involved in play believing that it carried significant potential to influence morality, in the interests of "health, happiness and efficiency."[57] Particularly through the experience within the Epworth League with its expanded social and recreative programming, the church could see come to fruition the kind of spirit it wished to foster generally. The practical alternative was to support further training in Normal Schools of play and recreation leaders.

Within the Methodist church this interest in the ethics of the playground was incorporated, for example, into the training requirements for Deaconesses, lay women within the church who were largely responsible for the operation of social service agencies and homes under direction of the General Board of Managment of the Methodist National Training School and Deaconess Institutions. A two year course was compulsory before entering into Deaconess work on a full time basis. The junior year's program included, in addition to the expected Bible study and History of Religion, courses in psychology, sociology, social reform, the physical and the mental development of the child, and physical culture. The senior year continued in the same vein emphasizing religious study and in addition pedagogy, work with boys, playground work, kindergarten work, and physical culture as well. The second year was more intensely practical and included field work in many areas.[58] Similar Presbyterian institutes included such amenities as indoor play schools, outdoor playgrounds, kindergartens, and gymnasiums. The children under tutelage of these institutes received the benefits of putting these ethics to the test, apparently an enjoyable experience for the target group: "But the children's talk is all of the long, active days in the sunshine, the bathing beach, berry pickings, ball games, and croquet tournaments."[59]

The benefits of an enlightened philosophy of play did not accrue solely to those living in urban centres. Throughout the period the church was keenly interested in the rural church and in rural problems. At the turn of the century most Canadians lived in the rural environment.[60] Its peculiar problems were studied in committees, at conferences and even through a more analytical approach using the framework of rural sociology. There too the playground carried with it the legend of its character building qualities. MacDougall in his Rural Life in Canada called for the provision of supervised playgrounds attached to both school and parish in rural communities.

> Here again is a situation which the church both directly and through the school must meet. The school must adopt supervised play as a socializing agent. Wherever introduced, rational, normal play has promoted physical vigor; it has aroused mental alertness more generally than the prospect of advantage through the possession of knowledge had done; but its especial results have been in the realm of character.[61]

MacDougall's plea was for the church to sense the greater urgency of the social gospel and to encourage educators to recognize the public benefits such an enlightened philosophy of play would offer.

An interesting aspect of the rural-urban dichotomy can be seen in the church's understanding of the respective advantages to the physical body of life in either setting. On one hand protestantism held close to its breast the instinctive response that virtue lay at the heart of nature, the "Gospel of the Out-of-Doors" as the Christian Guardian called it.[62] Rev. J. A. Clark, as he waxed eloquently before the Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian church, showed he was one of the true believers in this form of gospel.

> That is why the boy from the country always beats the boy from the city, in the city itself--because he has had a superior playground. It is not because he has had hardship. It is because he has heard the breezy call of incense-laden morn, has seen the pageant of the sky and the pageant of the leaf, has come in wholesome contact with Nature.[63]

On the other hand, the problem of the rural church in more realistic terms, according to Rev. Godfrey L. Grey, was the lack of an adequate social life in rural communities. "Young folks are restless. There is little or no provision for recreation. There is no community place of meeting for leisure," he concluded. "The whole tone of life in the country is tinged with the colour of the country store. It smells of raisins and salt mackerel."[64] On the issue of the physical superiority of rural boys, the first Boys' Parliament held in 1917 under the auspices of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Boys' Work in Toronto had a different view.

Using parliamentary procedures, the elected representatives of the Boys' Parliament from throughout the Province of Ontario chose to debate a number of topics relating specifically to the Boy Scouts and the CSET movement. The recommendation that the Boy Scouts should affiliate with the CSET program was debated first, which only served to emphasize the divergent ideals of the two movements. Under the physical standard of the CSET program another Bill was presented by the Minister of the Physical Standard which provided that rural boys should have a different physical standard from that of city boys. The gospel of the out-of-doors confronted urbanism with the reality that rural lads often performed better on the tests of this standard. But after much discussion the Bill was defeated.[65]

The trust of denominationalism in support of the gospel of the out-of-doors carried over into support for the camping movement and this led to the establishment of a number of church camps prior to World War I. With denominational preference for activities of low organization, all churches supported camping for its regimen and camp sports and games for their character building potential. As the editor of the Methodist Magazine and Review, who stressed play in order to get better work efficiency, put it, "The gospel of play is being more and more recognized as essential to physical health. . . . We will do more and better work in a year for a few weeks holiday. . . . The best form of recreation is to get back to the heart of nature."[66] Moreover, there was a legitimate demand for better vacation facilities, and recognition of the necessity for play served to support camping. The character building influence of play, combined with a few weeks confinement under direct Christian auspices, produced results according to many observers. This was evident to one boys' worker during an eye-opening visit to a Brotherhood of St. Andrews camp, who saw character training, while at camp, as the attainment of harmony of mind, body and soul.

> The writer's conception of a boy's summer camp brought visions of the boys out for a good time, . . . with physical health as the be-all of the camp . . . [but] the real object of the camp [was] namely the development and strengthening of character through our Great Leader. . . .[67]

Others who scrutinized the value of the Brotherhood camps, such as S. Wilson, Chairman of the Toronto Deanery Boys' Work Board, saw them as an example which others might do well to follow. Concerning the value of sports and athletic games, Wilson had strong opinions.

> Under the ideal leadership, the true fundamentals of athletic contests and different games are presented. Here for the first time some of the boys are taught what team work and team play

> means. It is not a direct teaching, but they realize that if their team is to win, they must assist and co-operate with the other fellow.

The aim of such object lessons in ethics was expected to carry over into the non-camp setting. Wilson continued, "This is one of the most important lessons necessary in every parish, and when it is inculcated in the boy at camp, it certainly will make him a better individual in his parish."[68] But in the controlled atmosphere of outdoor camp, this setting represented little challenge to test the practical validity of such ethical idealism. Moreover, according to S. D. Clark, the majority of such church groups were composed of "nice young people" to start with, representing often the best children from middle class homes.[69]

But camping was only of peripheral interest to the church compared to the potential of denominational schools and colleges as a source of training in the social value of physical recreation. Advertisements for the various school programs which regularly appeared in denominational periodical literature placed considerable emphasis on this aspect of boys' work, recognizing that such sports and games were both a necessary part of the tradition of these institutions and of educational value. The popular view of sports and games in denominational schools and colleges might be mistakenly seen as a frivolous adjunct not indulged in by serious students of the Bible. Gordon's conception of James Robertson's college days fell into such a category as he explained in his Life of James Robertson.

> He kept himself aloof from much of the college life. His earnest purpose and thoughtful, intense nature found little congenial in the college societies and the college sports and politics of the day. But if he took little interest in these sides of University life, when there was anything serious afoot, Robertson was not found wanting.[70]

But it would be an error to accept that such an attitude was either prominent in theological schools and colleges[71] or seen as inappropriate for those training for the ministry or for youngsters under the denominational school and college system.

The picture painted of another great Canadian clergy, Rev. G. M. Grant, would dispel any notion that such interest was either uncommon or unpopular. The biographers of the life and career of Principal Grant recognized that the path of athletics could be a serious business as well.

> On the affection of young men his love for athletics gave him an added hold. At Glasgow he became known as fast and fearless captain of the football team; in Halifax he was for years one of the skips of the curling Club; in Kingston he was too busy for much exercise beyond walking, although he became a competent player at lawn tennis and at bowls. But though ceasing to take part, his interest remained. No football match ever lacked his presence; if he was absent from the city, a telegram with the results was invariably sent. All his old students remember him in the dressing room, exhorting, consoling, pointing out the special pieces of play which had struck him.[72]

Evidently colleges both religious and secular were a source of interest and training in the manly art of athletics.

All churches ran schools and colleges in which physical culture, physical training, athletics and games were part of the curriculum, since this was an important part of an individual school's popular appeal. The numerous Anglican colleges, especially in the province of Ontario, provide a representative example of the type of interest shown by the denominations in this regard. The curriculum varied surprisingly little from school to school, at least among the best known, and only a few examples need to be cited to establish the essentials of the pattern. Besides providing physical training, religious educators expected that sports and games within the schools would contribute to the development in the boy of a strong sense of proper social ethics. Canon E. I. Rexford in an article entitled, "Our School and Character Building," reinforced this belief for the benefit of religious educators, and incidently showed the influence of the playground movement on school athletic programs.

> In the Play-ground.--(Perhaps the most effective field of moral and spiritual training when under direction and supervision, and yet imperfectly understood and utilized at present)--by recognizing that the importance of organized and supervised games and plays [sic] both outside and inside the school room, for the moral as well as for the physical health of the children, is attracting increased attention as an essential feature of every school programme.[73]

St. Alban's Cathedral School in Toronto was typical of the smaller schools for younger children which sprang up in Ontario during the last decade of the nineteenth century. First opened in 1898 with only an eleven pupil complement, within three years this school had increased in enrollment to more than one hundred boys and with it the steady demand for additional athletic facilities. The course of study included more practical elements than might be expected by those unfamiliar with church school. "While both Church teaching and secular studies are prosecuted, the physical training, by military drill and sports and games, are facilitated by the excellent cricket grounds and gymnasium."[74] The school was sufficiently proud of its accomplishments in this area that class portraits of the drill class and cricket team were displayed in the Canadian Churchman as an example for others to emulate.

The rewards of a year's preparation would be found in the formal closing exercises which usually took on a ritual atmosphere, but which by their grace and display no doubt contributed to the decision that funds had been well spent. The upsurge of young students in burgeoning towns and cities required a steady demand for improved athletic facilities, which led in turn to fund raising drives for the appointment and upgrading of additional staff and facilities. For example, the St. Agnes School in Belleville, Ontario, had spent nearly $30,000 during the 1906 academic year for the construction of additional classrooms, piano room, gymnasium and swimming tank using funds raised expressly for this purpose. At the closing exercises the kindergarten gave a noteworthy exhibition of its accomplishments attained during the course of the year, demonstrating "what can be done in developing the powers of perception of small children."[75]

The older boys of Lennoxville Bishop's College school demonstrated what specialized training could produce, under the ever watchful eye of the administration which insured that these boyish activities did not interfere with the principal purpose of the school, and that proper discipline was maintained.

> The fine cadet corps and gymnastic teams are under the special care of an experienced instructor, who is at present visiting gymnasia and schools of physical culture in the United

> States, with a view to studying up-to-date methods. The outdoor sports are thoroughly organized, and are under the charge of a committee of which the headmaster is president, and the senior master secretary-treasurer. They are, however, not allowed to interfere with the work of the school.[76]

The proliferation of such schools increased the necessity for better trained physical instructors as the demand for these services became more competitive. But at the same time, this demand was occurring when interest in the young boy problem was reaching its zenith. The commitment to resolve it provided a corollary justification for additional athletic and recreation services within denominational schools.

To many churchmen the lessons to be learned on the playing field or playground were of particular social importance. This ideal was evinced no more perfectly than through the game of cricket, which was still standard fare at Anglican church schools and colleges at the turn of the century. This noble game, according to its supporters, embodied and perfected an ideal of social behaviour. The social idealism behind this game, more clearly articulated in the mid-nineteenth century with the rise of "muscular Christianity" in the great public schools of England, provided a bench mark to many churchmen of all denominations for demonstrating proper social behaviour. The *Canadian Churchman* elaborated on this theme in a discussion of school influences and muscular Christianity, quoting and supporting a writer in the *Nineteenth Century*: "And then he finds himself partner in a game conspicuous from all time for its perfect straight-forwardness. There is absolutely nothing crooked in its methods and aims."[77] "Spectator" mused over the general decline of this historical game in Canada, for he saw in it the parallel decline of proper social ethics in Canadian society, but which the church hoped it might continue nevertheless to instill in the youth under its charge.[78]

Within the walls of denominational schools and institutions, the church attempted to teach character through the use of sports and games. Either by direct teaching or more subtle influence, the vision that through the play and games of youth, the beginnings of proper social ethics could be taught remained remarkably unaltered. Within these hallowed settings, recreation programming had some salutary effect on the adolescent, and religious educators and boy leaders rejoiced in the belief of altered behaviour under these Christian influences; the vision remained unchanged because such improvements were equivalent to success.[79] Furthermore, it is understandable why the ethic received virtually no scientific testing, so entrenched was the belief in the culture of Canadian protestantism. After a long career associated with denominational schools in Quebec, Villard attested to its durability, maintaining that:

> Gymnastics, physical exercises, school games have also their proper share in the training of the pupils, and the principle that a sound body is accompanied by a sound mind is never lost sight of by those who have in their hands the responsibility of the management of their respective institutions.
>
> The moral results obtained are important. Raw materials are transformed, minds are opened, characters are built and developed. Boys and girls are trained to become useful men and useful women.[80]

The Church believed influential educators, such as James L.

Hughes, Inspector of Public Schools for Toronto, when they publicly stated that the training received on the lacrosse field was no less valuable than that received in school. Such maxims became a fixed caricature and were repeated by those in the church interested in the promotion of physical recreation.[81] But interest in the subject went beyond cloistered school yards, carefully supervised playgrounds of Deaconess Institutes, parlour games and athletics of young people's societies, or the structured camp setting amidst the glories of nature. With the spread of practical Christianity of the social gospel, the church had to look beyond its walls, if it were to contribute towards the principal aim of the gospel, namely, to bring in the Kingdom of God on earth in the present generation. Salvation became synonymous with social regeneration, and the church in response looked deeply into all facets of life which might contribute towards the development of proper Christian ethics in secular society. No avenue of potential help could be left unexplored, including that of physical recreation and sport.

Sport and Social Ethics

At the turn of the century Methodists were the first denomination to seriously investigate sport and to give their opinions as to its possible effect on the character and health of the individual and how it could fruitfully be applied to finding the right path of social behaviour. Within the aegis of the Epworth League, the subject was raised and social benefits considered:

> Nor may the church frown upon the desire of its young people for out-door recreation and athletic games. These will, under proper guidance, conduce to those twin essentials of moral well-being, a sound mind in a sound body. These will prove a powerful antidote to the saloons and pool rooms which too often spread their allurements and beguilements around the path of our youth. We are glad to know that in some of our churches these reading parlours and gymnasia are being organized, that in connection with others playgrounds are being prepared for the children of the schools and for children of a larger growth.[82]

Under the proper conditions such activities were believed to offer an alternative to those unacceptable activities which the church was daily resisting.

The Canadian Epworth Era explored the world of "sport" as a character and nation-building agent. The Era felt that the word "sport," stemming from an old English word originally meaning "to cease from labor," belonged to the "playtime of life. Its mission is to re-create, to discipline, to develop the physical powers." Quoting Herbert Spenser who spoke of physical sins, the Era chose to emphasize physical righteousness, believing that "sport is the force which, rightfully used, will make for righteousness."[83] If Methodism was skeptical about the use of athletics within the church, it was certain that there was more danger to the delicate character of the adolescent in circumstances where sport was outside its immediate influence. Rev. A. C. Crews, General Secretary of Sunday schools and editor of the Epworth Era, recognized the gravitational pull of athletics on young men. Concerning the adult Bible class in particular, he encouraged church athletics as a shield against outside influences.

> Shall an adult class pay any attention to athletics? is a question upon which there may be some difference of opinion,

> but the general consensus of opinion will probably be that, under proper limitations, some attention to the sports, of young men especially, is legitimate and wise. Young men will engage in sports; it is natural that they should do so, and it is worth something to have these under clean management, with competitors whose characters are known.[84]

But this was a critical first step if sport were to be viewed as one of the measures which might be supported in the quest for social regeneration and improved social ethics.

The forward members of the church insisted that in order to encourage the type of sport acceptable to the church, they must encourage greater sport participation within young people's societies and guide those involved towards the best Christian ethics. Benefits were assured under the proper conditions. "If our young men take their athletics as a means to an end, they will get the maximum of benefit and enjoyment from them, for this is their place in life," claimed the Epworth Era. "They then become a real rest after toil, a real change after the monotony of 'the daily round and the common task,' and a part of that play after work for which we are made."[85] Obviously even to the more liberal Methodist the work ethic remained an important factor in the determination of a personal social ethic. And this was essentially what the field of sport and recreation yet remained, a beneficial activity in the purview of the individual, with only a limited application as a meaningful avenue of social regeneration.

With the increased attention to social service, however, and its attendant concerns, poverty, prostitution, temperance and prohibition, labour, health and sanitation and the like, emphasis began to swing towards the social benefit which such activities might impart, and somewhat away from the traditional morality of individualism. This was a step towards the liberalization of sport as a more potent agent of social regeneration.

Acknowledgement by the church of the social relationship between physical recreation and social health served to underline the value of fitness and health for the establishment of positive social ethics. Health, not the necessity for play, became the social imperative. Rev. Canon Buchanan, in a sermon preached before the Royal Sanitary Institute Congress, outlined his viewpoint about the physical and spiritual necessity for health, incorporating the environmentalism of sociology and the gospel of the individual.

> Salvation, then, or saving health, is the satisfying of the needs of the whole man spiritually and physically, and therefore the relationship between personal religion and social science is established. Religion saves the soul or rather the personality; social science saves the environment in which that personality has to develop. . . .
>
> Look, then, at your programme in the light of all this.[86]

Application of this interest, for example as an antidote to the baneful, sedentary influences of urbanization, tended to view the achievement of health in broader terms than the individual. The myth of the rugged, pioneer-style Canadian manhood would not easily be put aside, but many noticed that opportunities for exercise were limited in the city. The Westminster included an article on health and recreation which stressed the need for recreation and diversion in modern society. The adoption of healthful modes of recreation, it insisted, broadened the individual's outlook towards more important social aims. There were practical benefits as well. The Westminster suggested that regular periods of recreation and perhaps a hobby would counteract the ill effects of urban living. Those who preferred active outdoor exercise, enjoyed additional benefits.

> The man who is keen on cycling, walking, or outdoor games, will keep young and strong and vigorous . . . [and will] counteract the ills of city life and prevent nerve exhaustion and insomnia. It will make work easy, and enable us to accomplish tasks which proved too much when we lived a sedentary life every day of the week, every week of the year.
>
> Outdoor exercise in moderation, combined with necessary rest and sleep, is the secret of health.[87]

The need, even the duty, of physical fitness was taking on a meaning of greater importance for the church in its quest of finding a solution to the young boy problem, heightened by the increasing pace of life. Part of the rationale was the equation of work, and the capacity for work, with the properly developed social ethic. According to the Christian Guardian, the improvement of the capacity for work was a religious duty to God, and therefore, health and physical strength took on additional purpose. The Guardian explained: "If we view life as a trust, and our work as God's work, this question of physical fitness assumes a new phase. We not only owe it to ourselves and to our fellows to keep in fit condition, but it becomes also a duty which we owe to God."[88] The Guardian's understanding of the duty of physical fitness varied from Miller and Crossley's conception of the duty of exercise only in that it resulted from a stronger social vision.

This socio-religious interest in health was due in part to the heavy build-up of social service agencies within the institutional church. It was also sharpened by the reality that Canadians were not the healthy, robust citizens denominational literature had portrayed them to be. To really believe that the health of pioneer Canadians was below par was almost treasonable.

A popular contributor to the Canadian Churchman, Jesmond Dene, devoted some thought to this startling reality. He started off with some revealing statistics. Of 361,605 men drafted for military service under the Military Service Act, 181,299 were found unfit for full service for one reason or another. The reality, according to Dene, was that an incredible number of men who were willing and eager to fight for Canada, were "held prisoners at home by their bodies." Despite the repetition of Lloyd George's epigram, "How can you have an A1 Empire with a C3 Population," concern for health, per se, did not carry with it the same potential to mould character. Dene explained:

> Of course, health is not everything; it is synonymous with virtue, and does not necessarily produce it. Goodness of character does not automatically rise or fall with the standard of health.[89]

In other words, the health movement supported the social use of physical recreation and sport, but it did not have the same potential as the play movement with its inherent character building capacity.

The Presbyterian Record ran a series of articles during the period 1912 - 1916, emphasizing, in conjunction with weekly topic card issues, the social use of recreation, sports and games. Showing some interest in the topic of Eugenics, which involved the idea of fitness in relationship to national and racial perfection, the Record felt that there was a place for the virtues imparted for the benefit of society by health-giving sports.

> Writers on Eugenics tell us that the ascetic is usually the neurotic, and significantly add, that starved nerves created unhealthy appetites resulting in the deterioration of the race.
>
> One need hardly stop to draw attention to the opportunities afforded by athletics for the exercise not only of the muscles but of such virtues as self-control, sound judgment and chivalrous consideration for others--virtues which are none too common in the public life of to-day. . . . Thus the encouragement of simple and innocent amusements may become no small factor in the building up of a healthy, law-abiding citizenship.[90]

Thoughts on the direct application of such activities in the social reconstruction of the country were being entertained under the increasing pressure and frustration which the social gospel idealists experienced just prior to the First World War.

The belief was that the moral qualities associated with play and games so evident to educators and clerics within the structured settings of school and church might also be a force for inculcating social virtues outside of these highly controlled circumstances. The churches themselves were by this time taking advantage of the volume of positive feedback concerning the introduction of sports and games into the constitution of young people's societies and naturally considered giving their support to a broader application of the use of sports and games. "The field of sport is a training school of the highest value for the development of the sense of justice, the spirit of co-operation and the cultivation of patriotic sentiment," declared the Record. "One hopeful sign for the coming of the Kingdom is the fact that in an ever increasing degree the amusements and recreations of the people, and especially of the young, are coming under civic, philanthropic and religious control."[91]

The idealism of the social gospel was having modest effect on the interpretation of the social role of sports and games.

The Presbyterian Record continued its run of articles on sport. While admonishing the vices associated with it, they just as strongly maintained the opinion that sport had a valid and useful function to play in the social matrix.

> Every healthy young person--and "we are just as old as our arteries"--demands play. And games are good, physically and morally.
>
> It goes without saying that recreation in its proper place is good for man's physical nature. But there are many who will question its benefit to a man's moral nature. To my mind there is no doubt about it. Take any of our good games such as foot-ball, base-ball, hockey, lacrosse, etc., the man or woman who plays these games well must possess or develop control of self, concentration of mind, courage, decision, self-sacrifice and other moral qualities.[92]

Social gospellers who professed such an attribute for sport seemed permanently convinced. Methodist and Presbyterian adherents to this view took up the banner of sport, within certain bounds, as a contributor to the development of moral citizenship.

In a letter to the Canadian Churchman an Anglican cleric, Rev. J. A. Elliot, of Port Hope, Ontario, reiterated the essential value of sports and games in producing a more hardy and virtuous citizenry. In writing on "Home and the Community," he stressed that it was the responsibility of the home primarily to inculcate appropriate ethics in order "to start the young right in these matters." Moreover, the medium of sports was expected to contribute significantly towards the successful completion of the task, as Elliot explained:

> Probably no more fruitful field for watchfulness can be found for this purpose than in the games and sports of youth. The ethics of the nursery and of the play-ground mean everything to the community later. "To play the game" and take the knocks without resentment and without petulance is the essence of good citizenship.[93]

The Council for Social Service, inspired by the British COPEC series on leisure, reasserted its belief in the importance of play and the value of team games.

> Indoor games tend to develop forethought, memory, the ability to anticipate the movements of other minds, patience, concentration. Most ball games develop the quick response of the body to the executive authority, the mind, and train the player's power to make quick and correct decisions in times of emergency. The self-discipline, perseverance, good temper and readiness to endure hardship demanded by devotees of rowing, bowling, long distance running, baseball, lacrosse and football are invaluable. Sportsmanship has proved itself not merely an invaluable asset to the Empire, but a quality close akin to the Christ-like character in its capacity for suffering hardness, co-operating loyally with others, and preserving high ideals of conduct for their own sake.[94]

The practical application of the virtues of sport did not rest entirely within the activity itself. It acted as a diversion away from possible harmful activities, as the Council explained. "If you are playing a good game out of doors, baseball, tennis, hockey, football, or basketball or volleyball indoor, you are not going to questionable movies in the city nor listening to questionable stories in groups in the country."[95] In fact, athletics was even thought to contribute towards the social betterment of the rural community by retarding the migration of youth towards the urban centre.

Church support for this ideal had its limitations, however. The major concern was primarily that these activities should not become ends in themselves, but should contribute towards more efficient work and towards service to the church and state. A sermon preached in the post-war reconstruction period by the Most Rev. George Thorneloe in St. Luke's Pro-Cathedral, Sault Ste. Marie, spoke on the nature of these limitations.

> All that helps true service is legitimate, all that hinders it is self-condemned. Since to keep us in health of body, mind and soul, we must have change, recreation, amusement, these activities must be such as are adapted to their end, such as will make us stronger, more capable, more fit for the Master's use. This is the limit of our freedom. We may indulge in any recreation or amusement which does not impair our efficiency of body, mind or spirit.[96]

While the idealism of the social gospel seems to be missing in Thorneloe's homiletics, a strong balance of body, mind and spirit in harmony with its social teaching was present. The Canadian Mentor, with its vested interest in proselytizing the athletic point of view, summarized the virtues of physical recreation concerning the national athletic competitions for 1925 while recognizing not everyone viewed the existence of sport with virtue in mind.

> There is no genuine reason why any group interested in this great movement should not participate in the National Athletic Competition there may be found a few who speak of athletics and abolition in the same breath. The athletic question has been frequently attacked and its problems so much taken and magnified that it might appear as though the only remedy would be abolition. A study of the situation and of athletics brings to light the fact that there is no phase of every-day boy life which so influences and develops character--this was demonstrated beyond question in the Canadian forces in the recent Great War. If we are to be freed from the imaginary evil of athletics by their abolition, organizations such as this will be left with serious problems on their hands. All the higher animals require exercise. The boy is no exception, but with this difference, that he prefers it in connection with diversion of amusement; pre-historic brute strength has been refined, but the impulse is as clearly here as ever, and its highest form of expression is in athletic competition. This may be difficult of comprehension by those whose safety valves operate satisfactorily under the pressure of business steam, but they surely

> should perceive that attempted suppression of something which is so perfectly natural in our Canadian boy, is a huge mistake.[97]

Sport as Sin

> Alas that such a fine instrument for the development of manhood should be so often perverted.[98]

Although the optimism of the rising social gospel was prevalent among many clergy and laymen involved directly in the delivery of social programing, Rev. Stephen's comment on the perversity of Canadian sport showed that this optimism need not blind social gospellers to the reality of secular life. In the findings of the various social surveys undertaken to determine the social status of the Dominion, a more objective measure can be found regarding protestant support for recreation and sport. One Ontario survey, for example, determined that sentiment was about evenly split between those who would actively support encouragement of acceptable forms of recreation, and those who chose only to control antisocial behaviour by admonition. Supporters fell into three categories: 8% tried to get young people interested in church work; 31% provided social evenings; and 16% tried to provide clean sport, recreation and leadership. The remaining 45% relied on preaching, warning, and counselling the young on the evils associated with this controversial subject.[99] Other studies also indicated that pulpit remonstrance and direct preaching against harmful recreational activities were common in the protestant church.[100] Furthermore, such survey results of the opinion and current social thought of Canadian clergy were coeval with the approaching zenith of the social gospel and represented a percentage increasingly inclined to view sports and recreation as a favourable instrument of social regeneration. Obviously if these statistics could be generalized Dominion-wide, a serious threat to the rise of sport and recreation as a programing tool existed within the church. Moreover, this negative influence must be carefully considered in order to properly assess the role of protestant thought on the rise of sport in modern Canadian society.

Towards the latter years of the Victorian period, much of Canadian protestantism still maintained its traditional view about the rise of sport, one of alarm and concern, one which viewed it as an omen which did not augur well for coming generations. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian church made this point clearly, while discussing Ottawa's fondness for such activities.

> It is found, says Ottawa Presbytery, that football and lacrosse in summer, and skating and curling in winter, receive a generous attention from many who plead that they have no time to give religious meetings and aggressive work for the Master. It is held that these and other amusements may be, and no doubt are, helpful when engaged in moderately, but with too many all their spare time and money are taken up with amusements. These are great hindrances to religious life as well as to intellectual and social life. The disinclination of young people to identify themselves with what demands serious and earnest thought and effort does not give great promise in regard to the coming man and woman.[101]

Many Methodists were of a similar opinion regarding the upsurge of sport and athletics, particularly with the return of economic prosperity after the lengthy economic recession of the early and middle 1890s. The Montreal District of the Methodist Church acknowledged the popularity of sport, but with concern rather than enthusiasm.

"There is a very serious problem before us in the fact that our young people do not read. An athletic craze has come over a large part of Canada which is, we think, seen more fully in Montreal than anywhere else." The church was concerned that with many young people the controlling thought was athletics, and believed that the matter had gone "beyond all bounds of reasonableness." In this period before the expansion of the Epworth League, the practical answer was "that pastors shall not cease to warn young men of the danger attending an undue devotion to sport."[102]

The immediate response of many pastors and ministers to the rise of sport was withdrawal. For example, a contributor to the Canadian Epworth Era was concerned that the use of the skating rink in connection with an Epworth League was drawing young men away from the more important aspects of the League's duties, and he called for removal of the rink because he held that the general interest in sport was entirely to blame for the situation. He elaborated on his thinking:

> The time has come for the skating rink to go, and in many places its departure will be a positive blessing. In itself skating is a most delightful and exhilarating exercise, undoubtedly beneficial, but unfortunately it is an amusement that is often sadly abused. . . . In this case there seemed to be a perfect mania for the sport all through the community. It is too bad to see a good thing thus turned into an evil. Let us remember that some of the worst things are simply a perversion of the good.[103]

The young boy problem was gestating into a national concern brought on, the church firmly believed, by the alarming decline in church attendance, and part of the blame rested on the recent upsurge of interest in sports.

The more evangelical denominations, Methodist and Presbyterian in this case, continued to strike out against the rise of sport as a carrier of a sentiment believed inimical to religion. There were a number of symptoms: a decline of the family as a moral force for character building, an increasing interest of young people not in the traditional virtues of work and dedication to the church but in more worldly concerns, or as the church called them, the world of amusements. Such conditions were believed by the majority of churchmen to be detrimental to both the moral and civic interests of society.

The churches continued to admonish those too deeply involved with this recent social phenomenon, at first without offering any suitable alternative. The role of the church was one of censure, which it would continue to fulfill from time to time until a more enlightened attitude developed.

The Methodist General Conference at its 1904 bienniel meeting reasserted a few of the major concerns of the church including the decline of family worship, and also the lack of interest in prayer meetings. It was noted that these trends were concurrent with an increasing devotion to worldly amusements on the part of many young people. The General Conference responded by urging the membership to seek "more regular attendance upon the means of grace, such as prayer-meeting, the class-meeting, the Lord's Supper, and the public preaching of the Word."[104] The church continued to plead, but at the same time took the initiative to publicize the virtue of the young people's league with its expanded social opportunities.

The church was realistically attempting to meet future needs.

The Presbyterian church in its more conservative tradition assessed developing social trends at the turn of the century as dismal. The greatest hindrances, termed lengthy and depressing in the annual reports received from the various presbyteries, were determined to be love of pleasure, frivolity, and the insane desire of display.[105] The Canadian Churchman too, while preferring to countenance the "sporting isle" as the home of athletics, gave some support to the view that this over dedication to athletics did not produce the desired social results and was not in the best interest of either the individual or country.

> We fail to see how the thousands who flock to cricket matches or football matches every Saturday afternoon are helping develop the manhood of the country. They are mere spectators. To witness a great cricket match or a contest between two picked football teams occasionally is a pleasure and a recreation. But this lazy spectacular form of amusement has become with thousands of young men the business of their leisure hours. If only they would be athletes themselves and not mere gaping, shouting lookers on! Physically, the modern worship of athletics is a failure. Morally it has a deteriorating and degrading influence.[106]

But Anglicans did not feel the same religious imperatives to confront such activities at home as did those in the more evangelical traditions. Athletics were an acceptable part of the British tradition which generally the Anglican communion followed, with considerable interest from the Canadian side of the Atlantic.

The traditional Methodists questioned the value of amusements as moral suicide if too much attention were given to them, as the Canadian Epworth Era explained. "The accent of life must not lie on any form of amusement. We are not here to amuse ourselves.

Life is not meant to be a playground, but rather a workshop, a battlefield." Therefore to allow amusements to become the ruling passion was to take the straight path to moral anarchy. "If therefore our love of sport is fast developing into a mania . . . then there is only one thing for it, 'cut it off, and cast it from thee.'"[107] This belief that the church was fighting the abnormal growth of the sporting spirit and the inordinate love of pleasure,[108] or the "pandering to the vain-glory of life, otherworldliness, the undue desire for pleasure"[109] presupposed an orientation to life which was not derived entirely from the activities under attack. The religious and cultural tradition of the church is accountable as well.

To understand the nature of the sin committed by the Christian who willingly participated in this "abnormal sporting spirit" struck at the very tradition of protestant denominationalism. While it was firmly held that recreation or amusement was essential to life, regardless of how liberally or conservatively the general rule might be interpreted, the evangelical tradition was ever conscious of excesses in that regard. While time given to rational amusement was not considered wasted time, the pursuit of excessive pleasure was considered highly injurious to character and fatal to the religious life.[110] All denominations were significantly concerned with the problem of pleasure and none so much as Presbyterianism with its conservative Calvinist tradition. The application of Calvinist principles led to exaggerated moral emphasis where "any pleasurable pursuit was regarded as irreligious and wicked."[111] The implication was that there was something sinful in those who took time out for pleasure and recreation.[112] However, all churches had been nurtured on the distrust of human nature, wherein instincts were to be curbed, and "unregenerated" interests were looked upon with suspicion.[113]

"If there is one word more than any other," cried the Canadian Church, "which marks the growth or decay of the Divine in the human soul it is pleasure."[114] In the Victorian tradition, the subject was one highly visible in the homiletics of the period in all denominations. Dr. Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist church, in an article for the Methodist Magazine and Review, graphically culled some thoughts on this subject of pleasure from popular English theological writings.

> Was Jesus found at the theatre? Did he frequent the sports of the race-course? Was Jesus seen, think you, in any of the amusements of the Herodian court? He was holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners.
>
> If you have hungering after such dog's meat, go, dogs, and eat the garbage! Worldly amusements are fit food for mere pretenders and hypocrites. . . .[115]

The problem was, to paraphrase Goldwin French, that the evangelical was vividly aware of the ephemeral quality of life and was determined to use available time for serious pursuits. This often meant that "a clear line was not drawn between frivolity and innocent amusement."[116] The word amusement implied a list of activities including recreation and sport, a complication recognized by churchmen studying physical recreation. Such diversions as athletics, the racecourse, the theatre, dancing and card playing could be implied by the use of a single term.[117] The Canadian Epworth Era attempted to distinguish the vagaries of recreation versus pleasure, and began with the not too hopeful thought that "there is a distinct loss in confounding these two things."[118]

The word "amusement" itself implied sin, according to R. E. Speer, a formidable American author on the young boy problem; by inference it was something which served to kill time and that, to the protestant mentality raised on an indefatigable work ethic, was "one of the most terribly unjustifiable forms of murder."[119] Those deeply concerned with the ephemeral qualifies of life on earth looked apprehensively at pleasure.

Pleasure and recreation had to be edifying if they were to be considered without sin. Speer believed that activities which promoted good fellowship, physical development, love of clean life, and knowledge of nature and man were those worthy of Christian support. Canadian views tended to be more conservative. To answer the question of what attitude Christ had towards pleasure, a western Canadian cleric, Rev. J. A. Doyle, outlined what he believed to be the principle guides for interpreting biblical and church history. Moreover, he recognized that interest in the subject of recreation was topical.

> In our present treatment we use the term as it applies especially to our amusements, games, recreation, habits of pastime, and methods of entertaining our friends. These are questions which we have allowed to become of vital concern to us to-day. They have caused much and heated discussion, and about them we are receiving many enquiries on the part of our young people.

According to Doyle, four basic principles were significant to understanding and interpreting what amusements were within the bounds of Christian support. First, were they consistent with the presence of Christ? Second, were they consistent with health--physical, mental, moral and spiritual? Third, were they consistent with their cost in time and money? And fourth, how do they affect others? His answer showed a more sombre attitude than that shown by Speer, for example.

> Mrs. Wesley's advice to her son John puts the matter in a nutshell: "Would you judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of pleasure, take this rule: Whatever weakens your reason, impairs the tenderness of your conscience, obscures your sense of God, or takes off the relish of spiritual things--in short, whatever increases the strength and authority of your body over your mind, that thing is a sin to you, however innocent it may be in itself.[120]

Doyle, sensing the insistence of the kingdom of God for the salvation of the world, continued to probe the subject of pleasure. He felt that pleasure for one's self cannot bring joy. He argued that questionable amusements often led to actual acts of sin. Taken from this perspective, the social gospel cannot be divorced from the religious tradition from which it sprang.

The view which characterized the attitude of the Victorian church towards public games such as horse racing, cockfights, cricket matches, footraces and wrestling, as a waste of time and leading to profanity and lewdness[121] carried over into the Edwardian era. The church, however, had a new enemy in the world of sport, that of professionalism. The religion which praised the "gospel of the out-of-doors" and took pride in the idea of a "natural religion" saw professionalism as its antithesis. The period of the social gospel carried with it a deeper commitment to understand the nature of social immorality, but the more deeply the church looked into the spread of professionalism in sport, the more it became convinced that it had not erred in its assessment.

The organization of professional sports in Canada made impressive gains at the turn of the century, and proportionately, the church became more vociferous in its denunciation of it. For example, the Canadian Annual Review in highlighting the events of 1904 was drawn to include under the heading of "Crime and Moral Conditions" a sermon on the topic of sports by an Ottawa cleric, Rev. A. W. McKay, an active supporter of the Anglican Amateur Athletic Association. In addressing the subject of "The Church and Athletics," he stressed the immoral attributes of this professional inclination, at least sufficiently to catch the attention of the Review which relayed to its readership the basics of the arguments.

> The Rev. A. W. McKay describes how the athletic contests of ancient times developed pluck and endurance and then degenerated into the gladiatorial fights of the arena. To-day the amateur sports of this country, as originally practiced in England, are degenerating from honourable and manly games into unfair and demoralizing professional exhibitions where injury to an opponent is often inflicted and encouraged by the spectators.[122]

But the church could not afford to be the least casual about its concern for the rise of professionalism in sport. As the pace of the social gospel quickened during the years just prior to the war, so too did the church's interest rise in this area of concern.

The church put much of the blame for the problem squarely at the doors of the larger schools and colleges. These incubators of the problem were censured by the Canadian Churchman which, in commenting on a fatality at a hockey game, brought out several of the concerns of the church for the direction in which pastimes were heading. Reluctantly the Churchman declared:

> The fatality at a recent hockey match has failed to impress people with the need of a thorough change in what has ceased to be sport. Our games have degenerated into professional exhibitions for gate money, but more it requires a change in public opinion before such a money-making industry is closed.

Such spectacles were considered as "undesireable of gentlemen to play or multitudes of people to witness."[123] Referring to an annual report of the President of Harvard University which denounced the professionalization of sport, the Presbyterian Record carried a similar theme. The word "athlete" meant originally "one of good birth contending for glory," it stressed, meaning that the athlete was an amateur and was well born while the professional was paid and was usually a slave. Continuing in the same vein, the Record noted that most ancient philosophers, moralists and physicians denounced professionalism as harmful to the body as well as to the mind. Rev. Inkster, contributor of the article, stressed his opposition in a similar manner.

> I am utterly opposed to professionalism in sport to-day and I do not think I can express my reasons more tersely than just in the words of the ancient Greek and the proud Roman: First. It ruins the body and the mind; and Second. It is derogatory to the dignity of good citizenship.

Inkster believed that it was not the business of life to play, that play was a side issue, and as soon as it became a business onlookers were attracted and the sport ceased to be a benefit morally or physically to the individual. In the colourful words of Inkster, "just as soon as we make a business of it we get the mob of onlookers and the gate money and the gamblers and all the host of harpies which follow in their trail." The problem of the spectator was essentially the belief that spectatorism led to idleness, the perennial "idle hands" theory of traditional protestantism. Inkster held the colleges were much to blame for this deplorable state of affairs. His hope was that colleges would begin to play for glory and not for the gate receipts (citing the admirable example of Guelph Agricultural College, which had recently disallowed gate receipts) and this would be, Inkster insisted, "a long step towards pure amateur sport and towards ridding play of its chief abuse."[124] The Canadian Churchman was aware of some of the abuses which amateur sport faced, particularly with the prevalence of under the table gifts. The admission by a world class athlete, James Thorpe, that he had received money for playing baseball, stirred the Churchman to reiterate its stand against the professional. On this occasion its concern stemmed more around being able to properly distinguish between amateur and professional where the difference ought to be "real and not nominal," rather than from a deep conviction that the professional was a moral aberration.[125] Certainly the administrators of sport had difficulty establishing acceptable definitions of the bounds of amateurism and professionalism, without the addition of the immorality of the total issue.[126]

Anglicans supported the view that professionalism was not only undesirable from a sport point of view but was immoral. Fond of culling from British writers, since there was much about the heritage of British sport that it so admired, the Churchman applied this thinking often uncritically to the Canadian circumstance. The spectatorial habit was growing during this period in Canada and Anglicans were uneasy that this may contribute to lower standards of social ethics.

> It is, in part, the consequence of the taste for games which has degenerated so greatly, and may be extending beyond sports. The spectatorial habit dominates and now instead of young men taking part in the exercise, they sit aloft and pass praise, or blame, on the hired athletes below.[127]

The denominations displayed a genuine concern that as a spectator the individual was not contributing towards the development of his own character, either through direct participation or by some other more fulfilling method such as reading or service. Furthermore, the spontaneity of watching the occasional superior match, so much a part of the sporting tradition of all British cultures, was practically eliminated with the institutionalization of the events themselves, as regular meetings competed for the precious leisure time of young Canadians, time which the church believed was better spent in reading or service pursuits to raise standards of cultural attainment. Such statements of belief carried with them tremendous implications for the national integrity of upcoming generations.

Those Methodists concerned with the rise of sport and its ethical and national overtones also raised questions through the medium of their denominational periodical literature. Rev. Tucker questioned the value of the entire range of amusements which contributed towards lower standards of morality.

> Besides, this craze for amusement has developed professionalism in sport, sensationalism and what borders on vulgarity on the stage. . . . But they do a larger and deadlier work in lowering the standard of morality, making a common place and a recreation of indecency [referring to the theatre] and immorality. When amusement becomes organized and licensed as a money-making concern, then you open the door to greater evils.[128]

Another contributor to the Canadian Epworth Era a few months later, Rev. Stevens, could hardly disagree with Tucker. Stevens was vitally concerned with the influence of such activities on the development of character and wondered about the long term effect that such immorality, if unchecked, would have on religious and national interests. "Anything degrading in character does not recreate and should not amuse. . . . If amusements are permitted than do little more than train their patrons in vice, it is a serious reflection on our common Christian religion and citizenship."[129]

The Methodist Department of Evangelism and Social Service continued the attack on professionalism in sport unaware of any decline of social gospel sentiment. Its Eighteenth Annual Report in 1920 recommended: "The discouraging of the prevalence of too much professionalism in athletics, and encouraging of old and young to join together on the playground for exercise and recreation." Although its message became regimented with the passing years and the decline in social gospel fervour, the Department of Evangelism and Social Service held on to its belief "in the power of play and recreation as a [good] moral influence." The idealism about play remained strong although professional sports were denounced.[130]

The denominations, particularly Methodist and Presbyterian, denounced professional sports for more reasons than idleness.

Excessive brutality in sports they believed was fostered by the spirit of professionalism; what was worse was that spectatorism seemed to thrive on it. This led to an immediate condemnation of combative sports particularly boxing but also wrestling and even occasionally contact sports such as football. The Methodist Department of Evangelism and Social Service warned in its 1924 report against the prostitution of sport and regretted "the prominence given to professional boxing and wrestling in our press and in certain sports circles. The false ideals and brutal influences brought to bear on youth tends to destroy initiative and make success in life very doubtful."[131] Overt action by authorities to control sporting law breakers was always dutifully encouraged by all denominations. Prohibition, prostitution, Sabbath breaking and immoral sports were subjects requiring the diligence of civil authorities. On the latter, the report continued elaborating on an even lower form of sporting brutality.

> We commend our police for their speedy onslaught upon the barbaric institution introduced by the local cock-fighting fraternity, and advise that their constant vigilance in attacking and destroying such embryo evils be encouraged by the support of our ministers and people.[132]

This sport was followed most often in the western provinces, particularly Manitoba.

During the ascent of the social gospel, the Department was characteristically optimistic that something might yet be done to outlaw prizefighting. Certainly all denominations were concentrating their efforts positively towards the provision within the church of alternative recreation, but without brutality. The Eleventh Annual Report of the Department, 1913, showed its concern coupled with the belief that legislation could effect changes in public morality.

> We most definitely and unanimously condemn the degrading and brutalizing exhibitions held at various points throughout the country; one held during the past year resulting in the death of one of the participants. We would urge the Dominion Government to so amend the law as to leave no room for doubt in the interpretation and to make more reasonable the enforcement of the law in this matter.[133]

Whenever life was endangered or death resulted from the practice of sport, many were quick to remind the reading public with the invective of the pen that sport was becoming a larger issue of immorality. When deaths in American rugby football were reported in the local press, for example, religious journals sometimes reacted, not always with a practical solution in mind. One such episode found the Christian Guardian saying: "Why not call it murder?"[134] Concerning boxing, the Canadian Epworth Era wishfully remarked, "In future days prize-fighting will be dead and the world will be none the worse for it."[135]

According to Christie in his study of the social imperative of the Presbyterian church, the basic judgment of Presbyterians towards amusements should be Paul's admonition that one should take heed not to do anything that makes a brother stumble.[136] This was interpreted to mean that no Christian had the right to injure others. The Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism threw its support behind the abolition of prizefighting and to the showing of such exhibitions at the public theatre, an institution to which it gave little support.[137] The Pre-Assembly Congress called such activities immoral and condemned legislators for not putting an end to them.

> Even Calgary, one of the best of our young Canadian cities, ropes the prize ring for manslaughter, and several other equally guilty cities tolerate and patronize similar degrading and dangerous brutality. But the nadir of our shame is touched when in our Federal Parliament misguided legislators, many of them elected by methods which will not stand investigation, rope the international arena for a gigantic conflict, which would write blood upon the heavens and shatter the two great protestant cultural peoples of the world [Canada and the United States].[138]

Such combative sports were considered by the church, and not only by the more conservative elements within it, to be another immorality contributing to the sin of sport.

The denominations were vitally concerned that the use of time spent on sport as a participant should be in moderation, and their social schema left only marginal time for being a spectator, and absolutely none for professional sports. And there were concerns that an excessive excitement led away from cultural necessities and inevitably towards the need for even greater excitement; there was concern that too much time devoted to it was a prostitution of duty to God, the nation and the individual himself. The church's judgment was that professional sports led immutably as well towards physical brutality and that there was a direct positive correlation between physical excesses and moral laxity.

If the church was anxious about the cultural impact of professional sport on society, complete perturbation was the result when sport became associated with gambling, which incidentally was observed to be too common to be coincidental. All denominations, but especially Presbyterian and Methodist, were obsessed with the prohibition of gambling. This aspect of social ethics received enormous attention in articles and publications of ecclesiastical origin. The church directed much of its reform ambition towards this social evil, and was optimistic that it could be brought under legislative control. As a spawning ground for this evil, sporting events were indeed visible and therefore on the front line of attack.

The 1910 General Assembly reviewed some of its recent successes in the legislative arena against gambling. Every form of gambling from card playing to fund raising charities was questioned, but its focus was predominantly on horse racing since it was the only legalized form of gambling permitted under law. The Board of Moral and Social Reform and the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada made round after round of petition to the Dominion Government for the suppression ofthe sport, but secured only limited success and that mainly due to a general tightening of control during the war years.[139] The Presbyterian Record elaborated on this destructive force, which it believed worked to the detriment of amateur and professional sport alike because it caused "men to forget sport as a recreation or as an exercise or a thing of pleasure." By comparison other forms of sport were cleanliness personified. The old adage was reiterated in the face of this destructive force: "The game is the thing, not the result but the contest, the exercise, the stress and strain; so has youth played and passed into strong, clean, healthful manhood; but gambling and the gambler know none of these things." The result of this immorality was believed, somewhat naively, to lead to a poor athletic performance; "The amateur who gambles can never play his best game or run his best race," the *Record* insisted, and closed its remarks with a reassertion of its opening sentiment, that gambling was destructive of good clean sport.

> Let our young folk keep out in the open. Our land is a land for strong men and bright, sparkling girls; a land of winter sports and summer games, which give health and joy to all. Gambling is a baleful shadow. It is an evil thing. It is like a cancer that eats into the heart of pure games and clean sport. It is the ghost at the feast.[140]

With the rise of the social gospel, the church turned more attention towards a solution to the young boy problem. While not forgetting the practical immorality of sport, it generated an internal optimism that a solution might include the world of sport despite its poor track record as a practical source of virtue. Methodists were the first to envision a regenerated sporting life, amidst the imperfect world of sport. "The greatest hindrance to Christianity to-day is the love of sport," the *Canadian Epworth Era* began its discussion of the "Mission of Sport." While attempting to stress its virtues, the *Era* was compelled to acknowledge its shortcomings.

> It *is* true that the *inordinate* love of sport, like the love of money, is *a* root of *all kinds* of evil. When the cycle, the bat, the foot-ball and the oar take up the whole of our leisure thoughts and crowd out higher things, sport becomes a fungus on the tree of character, absorbing its vital energies and slowly destroying its nobility.[141]

However, the *Era* believed that such a "melancholy result" was not necessary and that sport had a legitimate place in the social programing of the church.

Others supported the sentiments of the *Era*, certainly the *Methodist Magazine and Review* was willing to discuss the issue openly. The young boy problem was touching at the heart of Christendom and many were responding with a guarded optimism that within the confines of the Christian church, a solution could be found acceptable to both boy and cleric alike. The pressing impact of modern life was making resolution of the problem a necessity as it was numbing "the finer and more delicately constructed part of a young man. And what Lord Goschen has called 'the mania of muscularity,' is fraught with the gravest consequences to the young men of the nation, but the real difficulty does not lie in either direction." This discourse had a positive purpose to identify the need to be not only critical but constructive. The Methodist Magazine and Review elaborated on these sources of concern, so fraught with grave consequences for the young man.

> If he understands there is a Christian motive for his athletics, he can engage in them without being caught in the wild feverish excitement, sometimes well bordering on madness, which is paralyzing all the higher activities of thousands of young men, and making innocent recreation a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence.
>
> It would be incalculable value if we could only get our consecrated young men to enter these summer and winter sports from a high Christian motive, and thus redeem them from vulgarity and profanity, and cut them loose from the pernicious and demoralizing influence of the bar-room and gambling den. Indeed it appears to me this is our only way of influencing and purifying recreation. A wholesale denunciation will only drive young men from us. But once organize themighty force of young life under Christ's leadership, and the kingdom of amusement and sport will then become what it ought to be--the Kingdom of our God and of his Christ.[142]

But the pageant of sport would continue to attract the interest and energies of Canadians, much to the chagrin of the Canadian Churchman's "Spectator" who criticized the praise and display associated with sport as being unwarranted and emphasized out of all proportion. One incident which sparked his comment was the extraordinary civic reception given to Tom Longboat after winning the 1907 Boston Marathon. Sports heroes being received with torchlight processions, bands, and civic receptions, was too much for "Spectator" who believed the craze had gone far enough:

> The capacity to run a little faster than anybody else may be a desirable accomplishment, but it does not strike us as one that stands high in the making of a nation. Yet it is sufficient glory to call forth the multitude and to set the city ablaze with torches to honour the home-coming of the conquering hero.[143]

Although "Spectator" himself saw much value in sport, many Anglicans in the formative years of the social gospel did not consider organized sport to be of cultural importance or of national benefit to Canadian society; most Anglicans, social gospellers or not, did not approve of the disorganized spectacle which sometimes accompanied it.

Those more in accord with social gospel thought encouraged a more sensitive viewpoint on social and recreational issues. Rev. C. H. Heustis, like many Methodists who were deeply concerned with the young boy problem and declining church attendance, was inclined to view sport and recreation as a possible "social means of grace" than to attack it as wasteful amusement.[144]

> For the church to taboo certain forms of youthful pleasures, and at the same time shut her eyes to the significance of those forces of youth which have for their end the propagation of the race and the foundation of the family, means in many cases the dissolution of religion from life, and the consequent drying up of the springs of spiritual within the soul.[145]

The gospel of play was beginning to emerge in Canadian protestantism. To many this meant that any efforts directed towards the amelioration of social problems would ultimately lead towards progress, whether in fact such efforts were producing the anticipated results. This belief in inevitable progress with its corollary belief in a quantitative theory of good and evil, that as one increased the other decreased, was nurtured on the optimism of the social gospel. From his study of the social origins of the United Church, Barker concluded that this saved the churches from a hopelessness in regard to the reality of social disorder. Despite the fact that sport was not producing the kind of social ethics of which, according to the church, it was theoretically capable, the realities of "worldliness" would continue, for a while at least, to be confronted by the passion of the social gospel.[146]

Presbyterians, too, began to sense this optimism about the possibilities of redirecting the play habits of Christian youth. The 1908 report of the Committee on Church Life and Work to the Thirty-Fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada was pleased to report that mens' clubs, boys' leagues, a recreative committee, gymnasiusm, athletic clubs, hockey, baseball, harrier, and snowshoe clubs, rinks, tennis, croquet, and outings and summer camps were being developed within the church.

But it also reinforced the fact that the church believed that "outside recreation frequently leads away from the church," while "recreation in connection with the Church has the opposite tendency."[147] Statistics were supportive, indicating that such activities tended to keep older boys affiliated with the church until a later age. The intervention by the church had the salutary effect of producing the desired individual control of the young and at the same time contributed towards the larger social platform of the church which was being worked out around the table of its various boards and committees.

During the next two years, the Board of Moral and Social Reform undertook a comprehensive study of the field of recreation in order to formulate a policy for change. The 1910 General Assembly issued the report of the Board with its findings and recommendations, indicating quite a concerted effort was taking place in order to rectify the immoral abuses of play.

> Your Board has a Committee making a special study of this question of amusements during the present year. It is in touch with the various forms of amusement prevailing in various cities of Canada, and hopes to be instrumental in evolving and instituting some plan of censorship and control of public amusements. It is, however, not enough to put the ban of the Church or of the law upon those amusements of a demoralizing tendency. It is still more important to provide clean substitutes, and this is no easy matter--more difficult for winter than for summer. The supervised playground has already justified its introduction, and has passed beyond the experimental stage.[148]

The rise of sport in Canadian society was having a direct effect on the social policy of the Presbyterian church, something which was not in evidence even a decade earlier.

Additional thought was added to the problem of misguided play by the Presbyterian Record. The advantage of athletics was obviously in the playing, the Record insisted; the discipline was in the game while the bleachers represented the absence of discipline. Emphasis was also laid on control, however, and supervised play was called for, "otherwise it will tend to degenerate, will become frivolous, disorderly or even brutal, the playground being turned into a battlefield."[149] The church therefore called for the provision of municipal playgrounds, parks and open spaces "for increasing the opportunities of young men and women for wholesome open air recreation and athletics, such as skating, tennis, baseball, bowling, etc."[150] Control, the watchword of nineteenth-century protestantism, was by no means dead, or even declining in some quarters in the new century. Concerning the use of rinks in the Toronto area, one report made it abundantly clear that without it, disorder and immorality would prevail.

> Although, of course, absolutely unobjectionable as regards the character of the amusement they provide, these places furnish opportunity for promiscuous acquaintance, and are extensively used as rendezvous for immoral purposes. The point which impressed itself as the result of observation at a number of rinks is the risks which respectable girls often thoughtlessly incur by going unescorted to these resorts, and allowing unknown men to accost and skate with them. . . .
>
> In one rink the absence of some of these objectionable features, which had been observed at other places, was so marked that enquiry was made as to the reason. It was found to be that whenever this rink was open, there were two supervisors, one on the floor, and the other in the dressing room, to warn off objectionable persons and check any improper behavior. The obvious inference was that the better conditions which prevailed here could be as easily maintained in other rinks.[151]

The critics of liberalization of church practices and attitudes towards recreation used such immorality to reject further intrusion into realms which were believed by them to be outside the sphere and duty of the church itself. One antagonist conceded that healthful recreation was needed to some extent, especially for the young, but emphasized it was necessary to point out certain scriptures

> affecting the subject, as for instance, that pleasures tend to choke out the Word, that Christians are to be self-denying, rather than self-seeking, that Christianity spells cross-bearing rather than the promise of earthy pleasures.[152]

While this critic believed that the church was expected to provide too much in the way of recreations, the more evangelical pushed for even greater involvement.

The Presbyterian Record continued with its optimistic hope that the Presbyterian church would encourage greater, not lesser, provision of physical recreation:

> It is the duty of the Church to encourage wholesome amusement. The negative and denunciatory attitude of the Church towards play should give way to a positive and protective attitude. The problem of the Christian is no longer, "what shall I play?" but "how shall I teach the world to play?"[153]

Such hope tended to dispel the fear that the church might not succeed in its endeavour. But not far behind the inspiration was the conviction that "when they begin to dictate they are apt to degrade. When amusements get undue prominence, then the extravagance and dissipation they create are the signs of national decline and decay."[154]

The voice of the reformer found a wide appeal, as the church became more committed to social programing, and had to go beyond mere legislative manipulations. This gradual change from the traditional role of the denominations emphasized the reality of a changing social milieu; the predominance of the social survey as a mediator of church policy on sport and recreation reemphasized the shift that was occurring. Its impartial objectivity allowed some within the church to move with the spirit of the times away from concern about the shortcomings of the individual to concern about the shortcomings of society, accompanied however by a weakening of religious appeal with its emphasis on human sin.[155]

British Columbia, and in particular Vancouver and Victoria, was notorious for indulgence in sport, seven days a week, as the Committee on Sabbath Observance and Legislation of the Presbyterian church was fond of retelling. In its 1901 report to the General Assembly it remarked: "In British Columbia, on the main land the Old English Lord's Day Act of Charles II, is law, while on Vancouver Island there is no Sunday law at all. Sports, excursions, trading are quite the order of the day."[156] Less than two decades later the Methodist Board of Temperance and Moral Reform and the Presbyterian Board of Social Service and Evangelism, in their joint social survey of Vancouver, displayed a remarkable objectivity in cataloguing its record of sports and games, both professional and amateur, under the heading, "social influences."

> Amusements of the Community--Automobiling, sailing, rowing, canoeing, riding, golfing and motor boating furnish amusement for such as can afford them. On fine summer days thousands take advantage of the splendid facilities for sea bathing at English Bay and Second Beach. Tennis would be popular with the grown-ups but that there are few public courts--such as there are being mainly connected with the schools. Football, baseball and lacrosse are played by the schoolboys, while basketball and tennis are enjoyed by the girls. The School Board has recently established several supervised playgrounds and others will soon be in use. There are amateur football, baseball and lacrosse leagues in which teams of different clubs, industrial establishments and churches compete. The Pacific Coast professional baseball games are well patronized, and professional lacrosse attracts large crowds despite the fact that professionalism has given some brutal exhibitions of the game on the local field. In winter an artificial ice skating rink has become a popular resort of the Canadian-born. Many amateur teams use it for hockey, and a professional hockey

> team competing with others from Victoria and New Westminster attracts large crowds to its games (the seating capacity of the rink is 10,500).
>
> Those who have come from the British Isles to the city have tried to introduce such Old Country games as rugby and grass hockey, but these find little popularity outside the British section of the population. A large number of pool rooms and bowling alleys, especially of the former, is substantial evidence that these indoor pastimes are at least not being neglected.[157]

Not everyone shared in the objectivity or the enthusiasm, however, and just as importantly, amidst the excitement for social programing a small but visible strain of ultra conservatism developed within the denominations, particularly Anglican, which saw the church moving too far in their support of recreation programing.

Those who saw the baneful influence of sport on morality (but without the expectation that the kingdom of God was immediate) took a sterner view of the whole process. Rev. MacBeth, a Presbyterian cleric, mused over the lowering of religious standards brought on by "much unhealthy love of money and pleasure and professional sport, and the tendency of it all is to lower the spiritual atmosphere and chill the fairest blossomings of the soul."[158] Others pondered over the value of encouraging not only a healthy view of play but also a healthier view of the work ethic. One writer on "Amusements and the Church" concluded that, "people should be craving for Church work not for entertainments. There is really nothing to gain by adopting lower ideals and the end never will justify the means."[159] Those less charitable to the developing institution of sport rejected, as some evangelical temperance crusaders did, the usefulness of a sporting interest to the young man.

> From businessmen the complaint that it is a most difficult thing to engage a boy who will take a healthy interest in the business and endeavor to work industriously for his own and his firm's advancement. . . . One of the speakers at a recent dinner told of a prominent business man who had said he would not engage a hockey player, and left the inference that hockey interfered with work. . . . The writer would be the last one to discourage healthy sport, but it seems time to call a halt and get the hours for work and play more evenly divided if we wish to escape the effects of the old adage, "All play and no work makes Jack a fool."[160]

The blame for a spiraling interest in sport was placed at the doorsteps of publishing houses whose newspapers gave abnormal representation to it, so saturated were they with sports. The inevitable result was the deterioration of moral edification, as the editor of the Canadian White Ribbon Tidings stated vividly in the closing remarks:

> Many a boy has already a beaten track through life and it is not onward and upward, but from sport to the nickle show and back again. His idea of life is not the securing of an honorable foothold among men, but that of having a sporting time at the resorts where the multitude congregate with the hope of coughing up an appetite to be catered to by some new thrill in the world of play.[161]

Others did not know exactly where to assess blame, so directed their frustration towards the major moulders of character--parents, the community, the schools and the church. In an article written for the Canadian Churchman entitled "The Home and the Community," Rev. J. A. Elliott, Port Hope, Ontario, claimed that there was an obsession on the part of many people in homes, schools, pulpits, and newspaper offices "to preach the gospel of 'a good time' for children." This was teaching the adolescent to follow the path of least resistance and most fun. "All this is essentially vicious," was his conclusion. The teaching of discipline in social manners and activities were of significant benefit for the child, and Rev. Elliott believed this could be accomplished through a more serious approach to child nurture not by the expanded use of sports and recreation within the church. Personal religion dictated otherwise.

> This is not the gospel according to the Spartans, but the gospel of Him Who went down to Nazareth and was obedient unto His parents and presumably enjoyed the pleasures of youth because He performed the duties of youth and observed the restraints of youth.[162]

Still others turned for comfort to the security of the good old days. "Easterner," another contributor to the Canadian Churchman, was one such person. For him the old game of cricket represented the truer spirit of sports and games of an earlier age untainted by the modern need for excitement competitive with the quickening pace of an industrial urbanism.

> In these days of commercialized sport, it is of vital importance that we keep our minds fixed on its highest purpose. For this reason I heartily welcome the revival of the grand old game of Cricket in various parts of Canada, including, I am happy to say, the Maritime Provinces. I have always deplored its very general decline during the past twenty-five or thirty years. For cricket represents sportsmanship in its very highest exercise, clean play, an absence of all trickery, prompt submission to the umpire's ruling, courtesy and good will between opponents, and a lack of all the ragging and incipient rowdyism which is unfortunately associated in one's mind with certain other games, as too often played to-day. Cricket is in itself an education in true sportsmanship, which in its place is a kind of "natural religion," if I may use the term, that has in it many of the elements of Christianity. . . . All our sports to-day are sadly in need of this cricket spirit.[163]

The high purpose for play was Christian social ethics, where sportsmanship, character, morality, and social conformity were equivalent. But to the church (both social gospeller and traditional evangelical) morality meant more than social conformity and immorality more than a violation of accepted social regulations. Morality had a spiritual, or religious basis as well. Motive also played an important part for the Christian in any assessment of morality. Conformity to the perfection of love as shown by Christ constituted the kingdom of God.[164] And with the rise of a social perspective in protestantism, this quality of being was often measured "by fidelity to the social need of humanity." W. H. Smith, in a discussion of "Social Service as an Ethical Ideal," published in the Canadian Journal of Religious Thought in 1928, summarized what he believed to be the major components of such an ethic. First, it implied that morality did not rest in ecclesiastical dogma. Second, it implied that social customs and usages can "be accepted as the ethical standard for the individual only in so far as these are really Christ-like," and further that Christian morality must be committed to service. Smith came to an interesting conclusion about the role of the individual within this context, denying that morality must be related to the individual and not the larger society around him. The strong individualism of the historic denominations led only to doctrinal views of the kingdom of God. Smith believed that morality was socially related and he concluded: "One of the most urgent needs is to define the right type of individualism so that society may the sooner come to its perfection."[165] However, as a whole, the church was losing sight of any firm conviction about the need for service, at least as interpreted as social service, while in general there was a turning away from the church as an educator of morality.

The trend was towards the secularization of society which the historian, S. D. Clark, noted was evident in almost every sector leading away from tradition. During the period after the war and with the collapse of much of the social gospel sentiment, many standing social habits would fall into disregard. Clark described the period, 1920 - 1930, as "one characterized by a general drift away from religious values, evident in the weakening of puritan mores, the secularization of the Sabbath, the declining influence of the bible, the falling off of church attendance, and the increasing neglect of family prayers."[166] In fact, the union of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches in 1925 itself was the result of secularizing influences according to Clark. For all that, the church remained at the centre of Canadian protestantism, though considerably weakened, but was clearly more amenable, having been influenced by the social gospel, to accepting the viewpoint as expressed by Smith that morality could be convincingly defined in social terms, though not entirely, of course.

There were vestiges of individualism, however, and perhaps none so stubbornly resistant to the modern view than that of sport. To the end, sport maintained its redoubtable hold on individualism, where individual conscience dictated morality, not social custom nor clerical preference. Also stubbornly defended was the belief that sport carried within its bosom the power to transform character, the vital social ingredient of culture. But under the beguiling influence of the social gospel, some came to believe that sport could be reformed through Christian intervention; but successes could only be measured in inches. In fact, the church added to its own dilemma by proselytizing its social gospel imperative, namely, that it may be as necessary to play as to pray. This removed some of the traditional sin attendant to the world of amusement, although a significant stigma remained.

CHAPTER 4

SABBATARIANISM

All denominations stressed Sabbatarianism, the strict observance of the Lord's Day.[1] However, each denomination had its peculiar obsession: for Methodists it was their hatred of swearing; for Anglicans, it was their contempt for those taking the Lord's name in vain; and for Presbyterians, Sabbatarianism. And to properly prepare for the coming of the Sabbath was the Christian duty of all those considering themselves Christian. Before the day arrived each week, certain steps were rightfully to be taken to ensure the proper frame of mind for the consideration of the Lord and his day of rest. Preparation for the day required a slowing down of secular duties and a quickening of religious energy, namely, biblical reading and prayer, and rest from the duties of labour. On the Lord's day itself activities such as quiet visiting were becoming generally acceptable, although some Presbyterians in particular even objected to that liberalization of the day.[2] But by no means were traditional protestants condoning sports and amusements on the Lord's day, and for Sabbatarians, even the pursuit of such activities to the later hours of Saturday evening was not in keeping with the spirit and desire of keeping the Sabbath.

The report of the Committee on Sabbath Observance to the Twenty-First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1894 commented on violations of the sanctity of the Sabbath by the extension of travel associated with sports beyond Saturday. The Saturday excursion mania, as it was popularly referred to, was fast becoming by the turn of the century, standard weekend procedure for suburbanites attracted by the fast pace and excitement of urban sporting events. The committee elaborated on the problem.

> Another source of Sabbath profanation that needs special attention is the Saturday excursion, taking crowds away on Saturday to games of lacrosse, football, etc. These, if they return on Saturday, return unfit for the right observances of the Lord's Day; but often they return on the Sabbath, making an open desecration of the day.[3]

The committee's view was that such practices required firm handling especially on the part of Ministerial Association and Sabbath Observance organizations so that this wrong might be "condemned and done away with." It was believed that continuance of such practices would lead towards physical deficiency and the neglect of social ethics.

The wider use of the weekend for physical recreation or leisure activities was predicated upon the use of public conveyance during the Sabbath day against which the church waged a concerted campaign with only marginal success. By the turn of the century several major cities were enjoying the opportunities afforded by it during the Sabbath. According to the Methodist Magazine and Review, the proliferation of local churches throughout many of the larger urban centres was a spinoff from the "Sunday Cars" issue at least in Toronto area with the result that hundreds of churches were dispersed throughout the city. Toronto, it was claimed, had one church for every thousand of its population, and greater attendance than in any city of the same size in the world. Nor should Torontonians need Sunday cars for recreation purposes, claimed the Review.

> It has, moreover, over a score of parks and breathing-places distributed throughout the city so that every citizen within a few minutes walk of his own home may find a church of his choice and open space for fresh air and recuperation.[4]

Anglicans no less objected to the running of public cars on the Sabbath because this further encouraged the pursuit of amusement on that day. The Archdeacon of York, for example, gave his hearty support to suppression of

> the running of Sunday trains and of Sunday steam boats, the opening of places of amusement on the Sunday; all this cannot be called work either of necessity or of piety, and surely then being contrary to Christ's will, it ought to be discouraged by Christian people. May none of us be afraid or ashamed to use our influence in this direction, and so may Toronto long maintain the reputation of being where the Sabbath is honoured as it is a city where the means of grace are both frequent and abundant.[5]

The Archdeacon had other concerns as well about the general and increasing use of the Sabbath for social and recreational enjoyment.

Public attitudes were changing and being observed with a measure of consternation by clerics of all denominations. The Archdeacon of York continued in his assessment of the public attitude towards the Sabbath in the new century. "The change in Sunday observance is very great," he observed. "Multitudes of men--good men and good citizens--who used to come to church more or less regularly, now spend Sunday in out-door recreation of one sort or another."[6] There had been a lamentable increase of social recreation on Sunday, even by those he claimed had sufficient opportunity for leisure time during the week. Part of the perceived increase in Sunday entertaining and Sunday recreation was due not only to the provision of Sunday cars but also the result of the bicycle becoming a quick, reliable mode of transport to other neighbourhood venues or even further afield.

There was a general belief, at least by conservatives and many moderates and perhaps a few liberals as well, that observance of the Sabbath should be properly carried out in a similar manner as in the days of their forefathers. Opportunities for greater physical mobility were improving with greater technology and the church recognized that the bicycle was contributing its part towards the liberalizing of the Sabbath. Presbyterians warned that, "there is also a necessity for us to guard against the growing practices of visiting, special dinners, bicycle riding, and other forms of pleasure-seeking on the Lord's Day."[7] Such activities obviously distracted from "the legitimate use of the day of rest and worship,"[8] and many Presbyterians in particular deplored any departures from traditional Sabbath observance.[9] The Sunday round, as it was called in the vernacular of the day because it had as its object, pleasure and not Christ, and any activity which diminished the spirit of the day was sacrilege, the appropriating of the Sabbath for secular use. Physical mobility was not the prerogative of earlier generations, and modern transportation innovations tended to erode the sanctity of the day.

Canada, at the turn of the century, despite this apparent desecration of the Sabbath, was renowned for its Sunday observance and on the whole this fact was recognized within the established churches. Furthermore, the general use of the Lord's day for such activities as physical recreation occurred at a slow, steady pace for the most part throughout the period. This insidious movement towards the liberalization of the Sabbath as a day for recreation occurred at a speed slow enough to allow the more liberal membership to synchronize their theological and social thinking with the changing social matrix brought on by social as well as physical mobility. The social gospel, or practical Christianity, took a more positive stance towards the use of the Sabbath. Its viewpoint was so overwhelmingly social in outlook, rather than dogmatic, that it often chose to ignore the issue by concentrating on what it thought were more important social concerns.

The Committee on Sabbath Observance to the Twenty-First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1895, ever cognizant of the priority of Montreal and Ottawa as sporting venues, noted in its report that in these areas the Sabbath was "fairly well observed," the chief offenders being Roman Catholics.[10] The support of Sabbatarian practices by the Governor-General was warmly applauded when it was reported that he had his special railway car sidetracked because he strongly objected to travelling on the Sabbath. Generally, most clerics from across the country reported that the day was well observed despite some Sunday morning travelling from Saturday games, and the evil of Sunday bicycling. The bicycle craze which suddenly mobilized many of the middle class citizens upon which the church drew its greatest support, was a comparatively new problem with which the church had to deal.

> Perhaps it will not be deemed out of place to give prominence to a somewhat new danger threatening the Sabbath, both in regard to its quiet and in regard to its use for worship. Two reports mention the evil of Sunday bicycling. This is a subject that requires firm and careful handling in the pulpit, the Sunday School and in young people's meetings. Parties who go out on bicycling excursions do not, it is true, cause others to labor for their pleasure, but they deprive themselves of the highest and holiest uses of the Sabbath in the refreshing and stimulating of their spiritual natures. The Church, the Sunday School, the home, are alike neglected. The temptations attending this form of Sabbath desecration are manifold.[11]

All agreed that there was a growing laxity of traditional social custom consisting of driving, visiting, teas and cycling. Certainly, Presbyterians were most likely to be "free from any charge of indulging in sports on the Sabbath."[12] Presbyterian committees on Sabbath observance expressed concern that for others the spirit of Saturday sports sometimes carried over into the following day. This more direct form of desecration was considered to be on the increase especially from Roman Catholic, Jew and foreigner, in both urban and rural centres. "But whatever the peculiar form," Sabbatarians noted, "golf, baseball, hunting, fishing, boating, hockey, driving, cycling, excursions . . . the deplorable fact is evidently established that sports and pleasures are growingly invading the Lord's Day."[13]

The rise of sport as a national pastime was evidently of direct concern to those Presbyterian Sabbatarians who dutifully attempted to keep the Sabbath as undefiled as humanly possible. But despite the rhetoric, the true fact was that the day was well kept prior to the war, at least as far as sports were the defiling agent. The Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform in its 1908 annual report concurred with earlier observations of Presbyterians that the Sabbath was sacred in Canada. It concluded: "The Lord's Day is almost universally observed throughout our country, as a day of rest, and by the vast majority of our people as a day of worship."[14]

One of the major reasons Presbyterians could confidently claim that the day was being kept holy was because the Lord's Day Alliance was actively supporting Sabbatarianism. The Lord's Day Alliance of Canada was first organized at a conference called by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the spring of 1888, to which delegates of the Methodist and Anglican churches attended.[15] The object of the Alliance was to preserve the integrity of the Lord's Day by informing the public, by uniting friends of the Lord's Day, by securing impartial enforcement of the law, and by seeking more effective legislation.[16] But with no employed personnel, its role was limited before the turn of the century to agitation for greater Sunday observance through the creation of local provincial organizations.

With the appointment of Rev. J. G. Shearer as first General Secretary, and through his relentless pursuit of Sabbatarian principles, the Alliance became an important force for political action to protect the Sabbath. Just after the turn of the century, a judgment by the Privy Council asserting that Sunday law was a federal matter and under the criminal code, sent the Alliance seeking a Dominion Lord's Day Act to give force to its ideals. The result of its efforts produced the Lord's Day Act of Canada in 1906.

Passage of this Bill by the Canadian Parliament ended an intensive three-year campaign by Sabbatarians to restore the Sabbath in law, since the Privy Council had ruled ultra vires the Ontario Provincial Lord's Day Act in 1903. Friends of the Sabbath succeeded in mobilizing their efforts with the assistance of the official spokesman of the Alliance, the Lord's Day Advocate, which claimed a circulation of 40,000 in 1907.[17] While all major denominations were represented on the board of the Advocate, as on the Alliance itself, Presbyterians were over represented, showing their passion for this topic. Both Methodist and Anglican endorsed the work of the Alliance, particularly with the increasing use of the Sabbath as a day for sport and commercial activities, and the Methodist Department of Temperance and Moral Reform reiterated its support for the Alliance in its 1913 annual report.

> We heartily commend the work of the Lord's Day Alliance to all our people. It has won noble victories, and none greater than recently, in the defence of that great charter of human liberties--the Sabbath Day. . . . We desire to unite with all patriotic Canadians in defence of this ancient assurance of our liberties, safeguard of our prosperity and helpers to human betterment. The work of the Lord's Day Alliance deserves the very hearty support of Canadians.[18]

From its inception the Alliance sought better enforcement of Sabbath legislation. During 1901, for example, the Alliance reported on more than one hundred instances of Sabbath labour and public pleasure seeking, and in the Montreal area in particular it boasted of its ability to prevent the legalization of athletic sports, and the opening of theatres and petty businesses, by the use of such methods as "kindly suasion and public remonstrance" as well as by securing the enforcement of the law.[19] As the new century progressed, however, the latter method of control became increasingly necessary especially for the control of Sunday sports, a factor which was a major concern of the Alliance following the First World War.

During the war years the overriding concern of the Alliance was for the control of the motion picture theatre, but even such minor sporting activities as a Patriotic Sunday dog team race held ostensibly in the name of patriotic fund raising could be stopped by a letter from the Alliance. Other more serious breaches, such as Sunday professional baseball in Winnipeg, were suppressed abruptly by the Alliance with the optimistic hope that, "It is not likely to reappear in that province."[20] But this sport, which some social historians saw as becoming the national game of Canada, an indication of its rapid rise in sporting circles, was not to be so easily dissuaded.[21]

In the meantime the Alliance continued its vigilance to support the letter of the law throughout the Dominion. The Lord's Day Advocate seemed to gloat over its temporal victories. For instance lacrosse at the Six Nations Reserve, Brantford, was being played illegally according to the Alliance who pressed the provincial attorney general to take action after repeated warnings by the Alliance failed to get the expected results.[22] Similar confrontations occurred in the Brantford area, where on one occasion upwards of three thousand spectators went to the reserve to watch a fastpaced Sunday game between the Tuscarora and Syracuse lacrosse teams.[23] Similar struggles and confrontations in baseball and golf were quite often reported in the pages of the Advocate. It was becoming increasingly obvious that Sunday sport was experiencing an upward trend.

With these changing attitudes towards the use of the Sabbath for physical recreation, the struggle of Sabbatarianism, which at one time seemed to be only an extension of normal Christian sentiment, now became much more of an uphill struggle. Those of every denomination who supported the Sabbatarian cause began to speak out more loudly in the denominational press particularly after the war years. The Dominion Council of the Anglican Young People's Association, hitherto content to a large extent to ignore the growing use of the Sabbath for physical recreation, spoke out against this practice by resolution.

> That we, the Dominion Council of the A.Y.P.A., . . . record our hearty endorsation of the sentiments expressed by the Bishop of Niagara regarding the growing prevalence of Sunday Sports and Games as being detrimental to the Christian religious observance and worship of the Lord's Day.[24]

The Canadian Churchman supported the Alliance in its efforts to maintain the sanctity of the Sabbath amidst changing traditions. The Churchman struck back on behalf of the Alliance to preserve the day of rest, a little annoyed at the unchristian clamour for a more liberalized Sabbath.

> A great deal of unfair criticism is levelled against the Lord's Day Alliance for its alleged interference with the personal exercise on Sundays. We expect this from selfish citizens whose one desire is to cram into Sunday as much frivolity as the laws allow no matter who pays for it, but we must be pained to listen to Christians joining in the hue and cry.[25]

In part this hue and cry was the result of important changes in the law respecting Sunday activities. The passage of the Lord's Day Act by parliament in July, 1906, and its coming into force on March 1, 1907, was declared by the Presbyterian church as "the most magnificent piece of Lord's Day legislation, froma civil point of view, that any Parliament ever passed the world over and generations through."[26] While the introduction of legislation brought renewed hope from Sabbatarians that better control and enforcement of strict Sabbath principles would result, legislation turned out to be a two-edged sword. The courts ruled that the provinces too had a voice regarding Sabbatarianism.

First of all, one of the more serious defects of the Lord's Day Act itself was that the Attorney-General of the province had to approve of any prosecution within its jurisdiction before it could be initiated. This meant that a liberal province might choose to interpret for itself which aspects of the Bill it would enforce and which it would not. The liberal province of British Columbia was a good case in point, to the chagrin of the Alliance. The reputation of British Columbia as a bastion for sport and recreation regardless of the day of the week was well founded and its Attorney-General refused to allow prosecutions under the Act,[27] almost at the outset. Ineffectively the Alliance fought back at every opportunity.[28]

But as observance of the Lord's day became less in keeping with tradition in the years following the war, even Sabbatarians were showing some moderation regarding its use. Even Rev. Shearer, chief architect of the 1906 Lord's Day Act, in a later review of

Canada's Sunday law in 1922 appeared to be mellowing.

Regarding pleasure, he asserted that the law does not forbid pleasure in any form, but only pleasure which involves the labour of others. What the law allowed he stated unequivocally.

> Golf is lawful, by statute, but not employing caddies. Ball for the mere fun of it is allowed by law, but not professional ball where an admission fee is charged and it is made a business. This is the Sunday law of Canada.
>
> It is lawful to toboggan or sleigh ride down any hillside on Sunday, but not to operate municipal slides that involve the employment of labour in their operation. It is lawful to skate, but not to run a commercial skating rink; to bathe but not to run bathing pavilions involving employment or service.[29]

But Sabbatarianism was not primarily a matter of law but a religious and cultural tradition. While the latter was undergiong a change towards liberalization, religious imperatives moderated much more slowly.

While the battle for the Sabbath was being waged, significant changes were occurring within protestantism itself. In the opinion of a growing number of clergy throughout Canada, it was increasingly difficult to "attempt in the English-speaking world of the twentieth century, to establish a policy which refers to theological principle, right or wrong."[30] Undeniably, the basic theological reasoning for Sunday observance was evident in Canadian culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but it did "tend to weaken as the humanitarian emphasis grew stronger."[31] Obviously, the social Darwinism at the base of the social gospel, with its view that right environment will determine individual behaviour, contributed significantly towards this increase in humanitarian emphasis in understanding the social matrix. The need to play, an important tenet of the social gospel, was fundamentally at odds with the traditional view of keeping the Sabbath apart from secular life entirely. In this protestant tradition sport led only to a spoiling of the Sabbath. It was simply not the day for it. Bicycling, driving, golf--any recreation tended to undermine the religious use of the day. Advice to adolescents that extolled "a quiet walk with a friend, or a book, with the heart of Christ"[32] was in keeping with traditional protestantism.

The first principal rule was that the day must have Christ as its centre: the breaking of the Lord's day was a turning away from God. The Canadian Churchman made it clear that such was the case, and further that the growing secular tendency in society to ignore this ancient institution disturbed the established church.

> Some who used always to be "in the Spirit of the Lord's Day," began to spend that most holy and blessed Day in mere idleness and sloth, then in purely physical exercises and amusements or in domestic and social festivities--forgetting God.

Referring in particular to the most recent wave of irreligion in 1901, the Churchman continued, expressing the views that "Such waves of popular corruption and folly ought not . . . to move a Churchman and 'Child of God.'"[33] The Sabbath was made for man which meant that there was a divinely ordained use of it for the benefit of mankind. The Christian obligation was to take the best advantage of it in the spirit of Christ.

Sutherland, in his influential book, The Kingdom of God and Problems of Today, published in 1898, identified the Sabbath as an important issue, important to the physical, social and moral well-being of the nation. The day was prescribed as a day of rest for all, and an opportunity for religious worship. Though aware of the growing secularization of the Sabbath, Sutherland would not deny its importance, upon which he elaborated.

> Now, when we consider the important place which the day of rest occupies in the divine scheme of government, its intimate connection with both morals and religion, its beneficial and far-reaching influence upon human character in everything that relates to moral development and to family and social life, the attitude of Christian people toward this beneficient institution, and toward all attempts to invade its sacredness, would not be difficult to define.

If, he concluded, it was agreed that the day was ordained by God as a day of rest, then anything which would violate or frustrate the purpose for which it was created, is sacrilege. If this principle were admitted, then many modern activities were automatically ruled out as unchristian. Of course, Sunday newspapers were illegal, since they were created by the labour of others on the Sabbath, violating another prime rule. Similarly so was Sunday travel, for the same reason. Sunday labour did not allow men the necessary time "to recuperate powers that have been taxed by labour," leaving them "less fit for resuming life's duties than before."[34] Similarly, Sunday amusements were ruled out, not only because they might create labour for others, but because of inherent qualities attributed to the nature of amusement itself. In other words, they were suspected of being "morally dissipating," thereby opening "the door for many other evils."[35] Also Sunday visiting was prohibited to the thoughtful Christian, because it might interfere with his neighbour's plans for rest and devotion. If these restrictions were truthfully followed, Sutherland believed, this would tend to strengthen the kingdom of God among men, while any other course would tend only to destroy it.

The Methodist Sabbath Observance committee concurred with the sentiments of Sutherland. Its 1905 report struck out against Sunday labour especially by those whose activities were guided by

> selfish materialism which helps multitudes of people in their persistent pursuance of pleasure and their greedy grasping after gains to forget that this is the Lord's Day, and thus they are changing the Sunday into a fun-day, the rest-day into a work-day, and robbing more than 150,000 Canadians of the privileges and advantages of a weekly rest-day.[36]

The committee identified certain specific infractions, in particular Sunday papers, travel, selling, labour, and Sunday dinner parties, but placed special emphasis on Sunday amusements.

> We urge special attention, both by intelligent appeal to reason and by law enforcement, to those perils of summer Sunday sports and amusements, especially Sunday excursions, Sunday concerts, and Sunday base-ball, and which, when persistently done in violation of law, become serious educators of young and old in lawlessness; and so should be opposed, not only in defence of Sunday, but also of law and order.[37]

Presbyterian reports on the Sabbath were in full concurrence. "The great factors which mitigate against the Lord's Day," declared the 1909 report to the General Assembly, "are the lust for gain and the love of pleasure. These develop a spirit of materialism which is inimical to the spiritual and every other higher interest of our nation."[38] To fight for the continued sanctity of the day of rest and worship, the Presbyterian church in particular strengthened its efforts to educate through its periodicals, all those who would care to read, though Presbyterians themselves were among those least likely to violate its laws, as their social surveys and annual reports indicated.

The Presbyterian Record outlined a number of positive things which ought to be done on the Sabbath, arguing that the day was not entirely free of prohibitions. Paramount amongst these was rest. The day should be free from toil and secular activity. It should not be a day of idleness, but rather a day devoted to those Christian activities which ennoble, including giving the body fresh air if it has been inside during the week. Other cardinal rules included cultivating home religion with its tendency to stress the importance of the family, caring for others by ministering to them as Christ did, giving careful attention to worship, reading the Bible for inspiration, and getting acquainted with others through Christian fellowship. A place for physical recreation was decidedly absent in this scheme, except perhaps for a walk in the open air.[39]

In practice, however, many were interpreting these rules loosely, suggesting that the day was for relaxation instead of rest. In the popular nomenclature, the cry was for a day away from toil, many considering a half day on Saturday was insufficient for proper relaxation. The church's reaction was initially to define this paradigm essentially in pecuniary terms, as did the 1913 General Assembly of the Presbyterian church.

> A little consideration shows that the same motive lies behind the movements to make the Lord's Day a day of amusement and pleasure-seeking. Usually the plea is made that the masses who toil six days a week require recreation and amusement on their rest day. Sooner or later the real motive appears and it is

> seen to be the commercialized amusement and recreation that is provided. The Lord's Day is chosen because the leisure of the masses on that day furnishes the greater opportunity for gain. Corporations and organizations do not establish opportunities for recreation and pleasure to meet a demand, but rather to create a demand in order that revenues and dividends may be increased.[40]

Sunday baseball, very popular in western Canada, was cited to illustrate the point.

> An illustration of this fact is to be found in the action of certain parties interested in baseball in Western Canada. At a meeting held recently, they decided that the people ought to have Sunday baseball if they wanted it; but so far as is known, the people have never asked for the establishment of Sunday baseball. The suggestion was that a collection should be taken at each game in aid of charities. There are not wanting channels through which charitably disposed persons can make their contributions without the introduction of Sunday baseball. Clearly the object was to hide the commercial motive until the people became accustomed to Sunday baseball and then to turn the revenues into the treasury of the baseball organizations. Christian people need to be constantly on their guard lest they lend their influence and patronage to these insidious attempts to secularize the Lord's Day.[41]

The annual conferences had to meet head on the realities that there was in society strong pressure to secularize the Sabbath, perhaps in proportion to the decline of religious sentiment.

Presbyterians firmly believed that the value of the day was not only for the individual, but for the broader society as well. Observance of the day was "of fundamental importance to the individual, the family and the nation, and its preservation is fraught with untold advantage," began the Presbyterian Record in its discussion of the value of the day to society, a March citizenship topic that year.[42] Benefits could be measured in economic terms, in relation to family fellowship, in the broader moral improvement of society, and in spiritual culture, man's highest interests. In economic terms, rest from labour was a national objective, which as the Record noted, improved "personal efficiency, the most valuable national asset." The day of rest was of economic value to the worker for it restored lost energy, a fact highly regarded by Sabbatarians and documented by the world's best physicians in Sabbatarian literature.

Concern for the family, the basic social and national unit, was another reason for fighting the secularization of the Sabbath. Through the influence of the social sciences all protestant denominations were aware of the increasing stress on the family due to increased physical mobility brought on by economic changes, and declining religious values. "If the family life was pure, true and strong so will be that of the nation," was a popular cry. The father's role as head of the household was to attend to the upbringing of his children, by teaching them what good social ethics must entail, and his ability to teach this was obviously impaired if he were out playing sport and not at home with the family. His duty was to "join with his wife in performing the offices of love, in training his children to direct their attention to worthy objects, correcting faults or follies, warning them against the perils and temptations of life. . . ." This would strengthen the family bond, inspire mutual confidence, deepen consideration for one another, until the family fused into an indivisible unity. The extension of these bonds and their intertwining with those of other families, insured "the cohesion and stability of the nation."[43]

A third asset from following a stricter Sabbath was that of moral improvement. Those institutions associated with the Sabbath--the Sabbath school, church, reading, etc.--would provide the kind of moral guidance required especially under the direction of the well-ordered family. The result would be the acquisition of moral character, "the most secure ground of national stability, the true foundation of national greatness." A fourth consideration demanding a disciplined Sabbath was that of heightened spirituality, to contrast and balance those secular activities of competition which Christians believed tended to estrange men from one another. Competitiveness nourished human selfishness, the Record claimed, therefore the Sabbath was a means of grace.[44] The Sabbath forestalled "the closing of the church doors, the decay of public worship, and the permanent crippling of all agencies working for the social, moral and spiritual betterment of the people."[45]

With respect to physical recreation, Presbyterians felt more strongly that liberalization of the Sabbath led immutably towards spiritual and national decay. "If the rest simply becomes the indulgence in idleness and sloth and pleasure, then the day becomes a curse, instead of a blessing. The slothfulness itself breeds evil humors, pleasure breeds frivolity, and so the day passes from a holy day to a holi-day; the man, and nation to frivolity, and then pass on to corruption."[46] Those of all denominations who saw in the liberalization of the Sabbath for physical recreation the decline of the family, nation, and in its place a population more concerned with amusement than in more important and culturally beneficial spiritual activities, continued to support strongly such organizations as the Lord's Day Alliance for the suppression of Sunday sport. Golf was one Sunday activity in particular which was above reproach in law and was therefore the embodiment of decadence and spiritual decay in the minds of Sabbatarians who could do little practically to stop its rise into cultural prominence.

The editor of the Record believed that the sport of golf was "doing its part, more or less--in breaking down the barriers of the Sabbath, and consequently of religious life and good morals and all that is best in the community."[47] Golf was cited frequently as an immoral Sunday activity when sports were being reproached for desecrating the Sabbath. Golf traditionally had kept a class bias, favouring the upper classes who could devote time to its practice and play; but with the opening of municipal links particularly in Western Canada, this "apparent" sport attracted supporters from other classes as well. The game was, in fact, not interpreted in law as a sport, according to an Ontario court decision in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the game came on trial for Sabbath breaking.[48] Sabbatarians were not so much concerned with any privilege the game might enjoy, but rather only with its detrimental effects upon the moral well-being of a Christian society.

Is it "fair to ourselves, to live wholly for the material, and to give to physical sport the one day that is especially set apart as an opportunity to study these great questions of immorality?" asked by Record. "Put the question another way. If man is more than body--if he is spirit--if he lives for ever after the body is left behind, then that spiritual side of his being must be of correspondingly greater importance than its physical side."[50] Golf epitomized the decadent effects of Sunday sports. "Is it playing the game?" was the question asked. The response was predictable.

Presbyterians were concerned that Sunday sport thwarted personal higher spiritual ideals resulting in a detrimental effect on the family, and the community. The pleasure of golf kept attention away from God, where even the glories of nature could do little to redeem this Sunday activity; the very power of concentration needed for the game left no room for God on Sunday.

> To claim that one is spending the day amid the beauties of God's works of nature is "too thin." Who ever thinks of God on the golf links? Eye and mind alike are "on the ball."[51]

But there were other, social reasons for disapproving of this predominantly weekend activity. So far as family life was concerned, golf deprived children of their father's attention and influence during the one day they had available to do parental guidance. Fathers, as well as mothers, were responsible for shaping the character of children. The Christian belief also was that Christianity was an important arbitrator of community morality. A Sabbathless community was considered a godless community; a godless community "tends to become an unsafe, a criminal community; and Sunday golf helps, in its measure, more or less, to make a community godless."[52]

Anglican Sabbatarians sought restrictions on the use of the day for physical recreation no less denounced the growing tendency to use it for sport. Because of the amount of uninterrupted time required to play it, golf and Sunday came into conflict. One

Sabbatarian assessed the situation in Canada with respect to the game, with dire concerns.

> We have to remember that the door once opened to self-indulgence, Sunday amusements will not stand still, any more than anything else stands still. Therefore, if we want to see the problem of golf on Sunday worked out to its just conclusion, we had better discuss it as we find it in England and the States, where it has been in practice for several years, instead of discussing it where it is, as it were, still on trial in Canada.[53]

As in the Presbyterian view, Anglicans who supported the halting of golf on Sunday, did so because they believed that the game necessarily led to personal and social sins. Sunday labour, especially in the United States where an estimated 100,000 caddies, boys "as ignorant of the truths of religion as of the great principles of right and wrong," deprived people of their day of rest; Canada, "thanks to public opinion and the law," did not allow caddies to work on the Sabbath, but the prediction was, that if not on guard, Canada could expect a similar fate for its young.[54] Unfettered by arguments of the gospel of good health, for Sabbatarians the gospel of Jesus was of much more permanent importance.

> The golfer, as he plays for the sake of fresh air and exercise, often finds that a neglected Sunday leads the way to a neglected Bible, and that a neglected Bible leads the way to a neglected God.[55]

Efforts at least to slow the development of this and other Sunday sports in Canada were left to the Lord's Day Alliance, the watch dog of denominational Sabbatarianism. The Alliance led publicity campaigns, its only real control mechanism, against all forms of Sunday amusement including skating rinks, professional baseball and of course golf, one of the most obvious violators of the spirit of

Sabbatarianism. A case in point was the opening of the municipal links in Winnipeg in the early 1920s.

The Alliance approached the Secretary of the Winnipeg Parks Board in order to have its position against Sunday golf more fully known to the Board but with little success. The Board allowed golf on the Sabbath and in order to circumvent any technical infringement of law respecting sport or amusement on Sunday, the Parks Board required that Sunday golfing fees be paid in advance. The position of the Alliance was that "the handling of money on Sunday was not a necessary incident to constitute a breach of the Lord's Day Act,"[55] but its pleas were ignored. In Ontario, again with respect to golf, the opening of the Humber Valley golf course near Toronto incited the Alliance to action on the issue once again. Promoters of the scheme entered into an agreement with the City which would purchase the land, and the promoters were guaranteed specified revenue during the lease period. What galled the Alliance was the City's entering into an agreement aimed at violating the Sabbath, where the city agreed under the terms of the lease not to prohibit Sunday golf. Specifically, the agreement was

> That the city shall not directly or indirectly take any steps that will prevent or help to prevent and prohibit the playing of golf on Sunday, and that in the event of any restriction being imposed, municipal, provincial, dominion or otherwise which shall not also include the Lambton and Rosedale Golf Courses, then the lessee may at his option cancel the lease and the liability under the lease will terminate.[57]

The editor of the Advocate, Rev. W. M. Rochester, reiterated the now commonplace reasoning behind the attempts of the Alliance to dissuade Sunday golf.

> Two dangers threaten the Christian Sabbath, one that it shall become a day for business, the other that it shall be transformed into a day of sport. . . . A gentleman of legal eminence in the West said Sunday golf is doing more to empty the churches than anything else. . . . Of Sunday golf this can be said, it generally means the giving up of church attendance and other pursuits, such as reading, for which the day provides special advantages. It means largely, too, the surrender of home life. Did not one of our Toronto dailies present recently an editorial entitled "Golf Widows"? It is the most powerful stimulus to the introduction of other games. Logically, why should we not have ball, tennis, etc.? How easy thus to encourage the entire occupation of the day with sport.[58]

To those who viewed Sunday sport as a violation of all principles of God and man, sport was unthinkable as a means of grace on the Sabbath.

Although not obsessed with Sunday golf in particular, Methodists, too, believed strongly in the sanctity of the Sabbath and saw it as an inheritance "to give depth, seriousness and sobriety to the national character, to save it from being wholly sunk in selfish pursuits and material ends."[59] They favoured the fullest recognition of the Divine purpose of the Sabbath upon which political institutions and national well-being depended. Ever aware of the powerful social and economic forces at work aimed at a more secular Sabbath, Methodist fought back against the tendency in society at the time to view Sabbatical laws as an infringement of personal liberty, which they claimed was a direct influence from the United States. This false perspective was aimed primarily at liberalizing the Sabbath for amusements. The Department of Temperance and Moral Reform reacted sharply.

> In this connection we view with grave alarm the increasing tendency to make Sunday a day of amusement--a holiday rather than a Holy Day. We recognize that recreation, as well as worship, has its place on Sunday. But when the hours of the day, traditionally devoted to worship, are occupied in amusement,

> the effect upon the life, and especially the young life of the nation, must be harmful.[60]

Obviously regarding what was permissible on the Sabbath, Methodists had a perspective quite different from Presbyterians.

Methodists were eminently practical and while recognizing and certainly not condoning abuse of the Sabbath, first thoughts were towards a practical solution rather than admonition without a practical alternative. The suggestion of the Department was to take up the suggestion offered by its Laymen's Association, which was to renew the effort to establish more uniformly a weekly half-holiday, as part of its plan to eliminate noisy ball games on the Sabbath. In the west particularly, it called on the United Farmers' Association for support of the scheme.

Anglicans did not condone abuse of the Sabbath either but, as with the temperance issue, they were less dogmatic about the restrictions which ought to be placed on the Sabbath: Presbyterians were the Sabbatarians, par excellence, Anglicans the least inclined to be dogmatic, with Methodists somewhere in between. Articles appearing even at an early date in the Canadian Churchman bear out their more pragmatic perspective. Anglicans gave support to Sabbatarianism but were often inclined to view the issue in a practical light.

> Surely if men have conscientiously arrived at the conclusion that Sunday may be used for physical enjoyment, they cannot justify their absence from church. Let them at least seek the sanctuary in the morning. The rightful place of Sunday in the life of men is one of the most important points that the Church has to contend for in this country.[61]

Methodists too recognized that Sunday observance was being interpreted more liberally than they might have wished, that in fact Canadians were approaching a Continental view of the Sabbath.[62] Rev. C. H. Heustis summed up this attitude in his Sunday in the Making. "The question is," he suggested, "What shall Sunday stand for in our community and national life? Shall it stand for Religion, or shall it stand for Amusement? What shall we seek on Sunday, recreation or re-creation? Or shall it afford opportunity for both?"[63] In the wake of the social gospel with its heavy emphasis on objective sociological enquiry and its recognition of the legitimacy of play, the church was left searching for a comfortable position on the issue of physical recreation on the Sabbath. The Continental view had its advantages and its virtues particularly for those clerics who were constantly aware of the decline of the status of religion in the national culture, hoping that perhaps the afternoon of the Sabbath for recreation might encourage morning prayers in the church.

Heustis's comments on the Sabbath and recreation were perhaps indicative of the direction in which denominationalism as a whole was heading, though slowly.

> It was reminded of the difference of observance of the Lord's Day in Roman Catholic and Protestant communities, respectively, and I asked myself whether I was not witnessing a healthier scheme of Sunday observance in this Roman Catholic town than that which prevailed in many Protestant communities. . . . It is doubtful whether it is possible now to save the Lord's Day as a whole, and it is imperative that we save as much of it as we can. I do not wish to be understood as commending the Roman Catholic method of observance. I would rather treat the problem positively rather than negatively. Recreation has its place in Sunday, but we cannot fail to heed what Sir Walter Scott said: "Give the world one half of Sunday, and you will find that religion has no strong hold on the other."[64]

Despite the rhetoric, Heustis, at least, and certainly many more protestants, were coming to understand that Sunday would and possibly should be used for play and recreation. Huestis conceded that play for children was legitimate on the Sabbath under conditions outlined by H. F. Cope, a prominent American author on Religious Education: First, Sunday should be the day of wholesome play activity. Second, Sunday play should never interfere with the rights of others who wish to spend the day in quiet or observe the day differently from us. Third, Sunday play must neither cause nor add additional or unnecessary labour; and significantly it must not interfere with the pleasures of others.[65] Some of the lessons of the social gospel, especially regarding the child-centered thinking in physical recreation, had spread beyond their time; however, it was a larger step indeed to recognize the importance of play life and physical recreation, than to allow adults similar benefits of modern social philosophy.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The emergence of sport and physical recreation as a recognizable ingredient of Canadian culture was virtually accomplished by the 1920s. Though the ethics of work were faltering, not all agencies of social change automatically concluded that the ethics of physical recreation and sport should rise to fill the vacuum. But under the influence of the social gospel at the turn of the century, the protestant denominations began to look more seriously at the social importance of leisure-time activities in order to help them understand better the social matrix of the twentieth century and to prescribe social remedies. Consequently, under this social gospel influence, the moral and social potential of physical recreation, sport and play became a meaningful issue in Canadian protestantism.

Traditional protestantism with its extreme sense of individualism (rather than a social consciousness which demanded social service), cared little about the social significance of sport, something it had generally regarded as more a nuisance than a blessing to society, although some interest in bodily fitness was acceptable. During the period of the social gospel (1895 - 1925), a movement which was preeminently social and practical in its orientation, the traditional church and its social values were challenged by social gospellers within its ranks who believed the church should become more socially relevant, a position in harmony with modern social science. The strong social evangelism of the social gospel encouraged the study of this side of social life which had been traditionally ignored by supporting social programing within the church to include sport, physical recreation and play. The transient blending of traditional theology and social relevance led the protestant denominations towards greater acceptance of the moral and social benefits of play, sport and organized physical recreation.

The focus of the dissertation was on the social gospel as found in the three largest and by far the most important protestant denominations in Canada--Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian. Its purpose was two-fold. First, it sought to acknowledge that such a basic culture-determining agency as the church, or religion in general, can be used as an important source of knowledge in understanding the movement of sport in modern society. Twentieth-century protestantism in Canada was well aware of the rise of sport in popular culture, and its understanding of and reaction to this new phenomenon made protestantism, unwitting or otherwise, an observer and a player. Second, and even more basically, it attempted to show that the church was a strong contributor to the social understanding of the role of sports and games in society. By studying the social rather than the religious life of the church in the Canadian community, a better understanding of the social determinants of sport, physical recreation and physical education, is possible.

These three largest denominations represented about eighty-five percent of Canadian protestantism and largely determined the social character of English-speaking Canada. Through a series of administrative amalgamations in the decades prior to the social gospel, they entered the new century with a tradition of cooperation and a renewed spirit with which to address social disorder. The Methodist and Presbyterian churches eventually united to form the United Church of Canada in 1925. Despite the ability to work cooperatively, each had discernible differences in temperament which determined its individual outlook towards social problems. Methodists, for example, were the most evangelical and embraced the social gospel more passionately than did the other denominations. Though more conservative in their social outlook, Presbyterians too were driven towards acceptance of social reform in physical recreation by the social theology of the social gospel. Anglicans were the least evangelical and were also slower to develop a sensitivity to social issues, but all denominations implemented comprehensive social plans and programs dealing with physical recreation and play under the influence of the social gospel and through ecumenical cooperation. The social gospel was largely responsible for encouraging the church to reexamine the type and quality of social and recreative programing offered within the organized structure of the church and to reconsider its broader cultural importance.

Within the church, departments were established to investigate and report to the General Synods and Councils on social issues. Methodists in 1902 established the first permanent church department with a mandate to investigate social programing, the Department of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform. Through subcommittees on recreation, athletics and church education, the vagaries of physical recreation were explored. Presbyterians followed the lead in 1907 by creating a Board of Home Missions to do similar work, while Anglicans followed the next year with a Committee on Moral and Social Reform. Through such vehicles as these reform committees within the church, the social message of the social gospel concerning play and physical recreation was most clearly articulated. These departments recommended sweeping changes in the traditional social policy of the church and specifically sought more involved, practical Christianity.

The idealism of the social gospel led social reformers to expect that the church would intervene successfully in the social life of Canadians. Such committees saw the benefits of studying sport and recreation and perhaps using this as a direct means of remedying social ills which were becoming all the more evident as the church probed into the social structure of the community. Reformers, both clerical and lay, recommended that the play life of society was too important and fundamental to good character, which ultimately was reflected in social behaviour, to be left out of the purview of the church and suggested through reform committees that direct involvement would produce desired changes in social behaviour more in line with the idealism of denominational evangelism. The new initiative called for the upgrading of church youth organizations to provide more diversified social programing. The

Methodist church began first by expanding its Epworth League program for youth, which included, as a result of the social concerns of the social gospel, a greater appreciation of the need for and provision of physical recreation as a means of solving the dilemma of declining adolescent communion. Anglicans felt the influence of the social gospel to a lesser degree, but nevertheless recognized the advantages of improved young people's organization and improved recreation programing, which had led to increased adolescent membership in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Under the direction of the various moral and social service committees, the protestant church sought new policies on such topics as playgrounds, recreation and athletics. Although social gospellers argued that to play may be as important as to pray, the church did not completely escape from its historical tradition of noninvolvement in physical recreation and adopted only partially the ideals of shared responsibility in such matters. But the thrust of social gospel passion sustained progress in the creation of new programs and in the enlargement of established ones without which such advances would have been placed in jeopardy.

A large part of the hesitancy of the church was due to its lack of understanding of the social value of sports and games in society. Such activities as athletics, physical education and play were believed to contribute to health and physical well-being for the better performance of church obligations and service to the church, but this was to be a personal commitment, the traditional church philosophy being that its foremost concern was for the spiritual nature of the individual, not his physical body. The traditional watchword of the church towards youth had been control: control of behaviour, thought and belief and a control which counselled prayer not play for the attainment of proper social ethics. However, social gospellers argued that physical recreation and play were pertinent to proper social development. Their commitment to social change was strong and by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the efforts of reform and education committees and boy leaders pursuaded the church that modest experimentation and innovation in social programing was appropriate for the times.

Several significant developments were taking place which further encouraged this reexamination posture. One was the radical rethinking and subsequent reorganization of young people's organizations within all denominations. Concurrently these efforts were augmented by the general proliferation of adolescent literature from social reformers, educators, theologians and social scientists expounding social and recreational recognition within organized churches. Such literature argued that the church could ensure a better moral tone to a community's recreation, contribute to the social service of the community as a whole by raising the aspirations and expectations of the young players, and, most importantly, capture the moral value of play for the purposes of the church. Undirected play, in keeping with the traditional view, tended to be seen as less moral, as evidenced by declining standards of morality within sports. This decline was seen in the rise of professional sport. The church vehemently admonished society for its love of organized sport which encouraged spectatorism instead of exercise and still worse, gambling. The church, by proper supervision of play and sport, expected to introduce a moral value into play which did not generally exist, according to those clerics antagonistic to sport.

Ironically, the social gospel espoused that play, meaning physical recreation in many of its modes, was essentially and inherently moral, and moreover, should be used as an agent of Christian evangelism. Despite the obvious reality that sport in society was often immoral, social gospellers could not denounce their belief in the character-building attributes inherent in play, even when confronted by rational arguments to the contrary. While many in the church chose to either ignore sport or to preach against this social evil, liberal gospellers claimed that the world of sport was far too useful a tool for social regeneration and national growth to accept any other posture than one of redressing the abuses of sport. The idealism of the social gospel encouraged such optimism admist the harsh realities of sporting life in Canada. Worldliness was confronted by the idealism of the social gospel which tended to undermine such concerns. As a result significant athletic programing was sponsored within the church through leagues, interchurch and interdenominational competition, through church camps, and semi-organized and spontaneous games. Much of this was not possible within the church of the nineteenth century. Traditional protestantism had made no clear distinction between what was frivolous and what was innocent regarding physical recreation activities, because of its traditional stress on piety and work rather than on the ethics of play.

The significance of the social gospel movement to the history of sport and physical recreation lies in two main areas. First, social gospellers raised the social consciousness of protestantism by educating the church to some of the benefits of a rational physical program. As a result church youth associations were reorganized for the social benefit of the members as well as for the religious purposes of the church, which social gospellers believed should ultimately be synonymous. This was a considerable accomplishment. Subsequent reorganization led to the organization of new agencies for serving youth, and these became sufficiently entrenched in church life to be able to continue after the impetus of the social gospel, which had given rise to them, had disappeared. A broader program for youth organized around literary, social and athletic departments is the legacy of the social gosepl, which remains viable today.

The second significant contribution of the social gospel to the understanding of the history of sport and physical education came as a result of social gospel's recognition of the ethics of play. Social gospel philosophy about the ethical significance of play often tended to polarize liberal and conservative views within the church. But by arguing that the potential social importance of physical recreation was beneficial to social and national objectives, the social gospel taunted the church into revealing more of the character of its traditional assessment of physical recreation. As forceful as its insistence was, the social gospel could not dislodge the traditional belief that such activities had any legitimate place within the church. When the denominations became involved directly, they did so hesitantly and with a preference for low organized physical activities such as that found in scouting and on the campgrounds. The Canadian Standard Efficiency Training program was a compromise in that regard, mainly because of its strong emphasis on religion to balance any tendency of athletics towards excesses, and by the national appropriateness of it during the war years. While the church recognized the value of CSET because of its offsetting virtues, protestantism was not appreciably ready to grant more recognition to the physical body, despite social gospel overtures, preferring again to concentrate on the spiritual life of the community. Advances in adolescent church athletic programing and a greater acceptance of their social benefit were possible, but always with this tension present between liberal and conservative viewpoints. Fundamentally, social gospellers accepted the harmony of mind, body and spirit, as part of the wisdom of the social sciences. The contrasting tension between the social gospel and traditional denominationalism showed that protestantism was still very much one of the major culture-determining agencies which in fact was determining the inferior placement of physical recreation, sport and physical education within the social nexus. By challenging the position of denominationalism to provide for direct intervention into the play life of the Canadian community, the social gospel contributed to the gradual wider acceptance of physical recreation as a useful and necessary part of proper social and cultural development, despite the disinclination of protestantism to do so.

FOOTNOTES

Preface

[1] M. L. Van Vliet, ed., Physical Education in Canada (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. v.

[2] This phrase is used frequently by I. F. Jobling in his dissertation, "Sport in Nineteenth-Century Canada: The Effect of Technological Change on Its Development" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1970). This expression is given greater meaning by Huizinga in "The Play Element in Contemporary Civilization" in Sport in the Socio-Cultural Process, ed. M. Marie Hart (Dubupue, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1972), p. 7, with regard to the increasingly strict and elaborate rules and discipline which characterizes modern sport and differentiates it from its pastoral games heritage. The distinction is meaningful here as well. The protestant denominations tended to prefer pastimes to modern sports.

[3] P. L. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807 - 1867" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969).

[4] L. D. Morrow, "Selected Topics in the History of Physical Education in Ontario: From Dr. Egerton Ryerson to the Strathcona Trust, 1844 - 1939" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1975).

[5] F. Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973), p. 253.

[6] The interrelationship of technological change and urbanization are given preliminary discussion by Jobling, and together they are often cited in relation to changes in sport particularly in growing urban centres.

[7] Gerald Redmond, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth-Century Canada" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972).

[8] See, for example, Alan Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal: 1840 - 1901" in Canadian Sport Sociological Perspective, pp. 77-103; and in the same book, "Class or Mass: Notes on the Democratization of Canadian Amateur Sport" by Richard S. Gruneau, pp. 108-141. This topic was the subject of the Maxwell L. Howell address at the 1974 North American Society for Sport History Convention, delivered by S. F. Wise, entitled, "Sport and Class in Central Canada in the Nineteenth Century," Proceeding of the North American Society for Sport History, 1974.

Preface (continued)

[9] This thought cogently expressed by Dennis Brailsford in Sport in Society, Elizabeth to Anne (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 4, was similar to that held by the Department of Physical Education, University of Alberta, at the time the first sport history dissertations were produced.

[10] This word "form" refers to a taxonomy used by Jack W. Berryman in an article entitled "Sport History as Social History?" Quest, Monograph II (Spring Issue, June, 1973), pp. 65-73. According to Berryman, sport's major elements are form, participants, facilitators, and the situation in which it occurs. He claims we must "be aware of and treat each of the four major elements of sport. A mere chronology and description of the topic, which unfortunately has been the extent of much sport history, only utilizes the sport's form," p. 71.

[11] L. Maxwell and Nancy Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life, 1700 to the Present (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1969), p. 1.

[12] Ibid., p. 2.

[13] A dozen different introductory readers in physical education could be cited here. I use the words of E. A. Rice and J. L. Hutchinson in A Brief History of Physical Education (3rd ed.: New York: A. S. Barnes, 1952), p. 30. My aim here is to point out some obvious relationships, not to delve into the complex issues regarding either ancient athletics, asceticism, puritanism or muscular Christianity. This is not to say that certain aspects of these will not be related to the thesis.

[14] For example, D. B. Van Dalen et. al., "Physical Education for the Early Christian Disciplines," A World History of Physical Education: Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1953), pp. 96-132.

[15] D. Brailsford, "Sport and the Puritans," pp. 122-157. The Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education has included many articles on this subject since it began publication in 1970, for example, Thomas R. Davis, "Puritans and Physical Education: The Shroud of Gloom Lifted," 3:1 (May, 1972); J. Thomas Jable, "The English Puritans, Suppressors of Sport and Amusement?" 7:1 (May, 1976); and Peter Wagner, "American Puritan Literature: A Neglected Field of Research in American Sport History," 8:2 (December, 1977).

[16] P. C. McIntosh, Sport in Society (London: C. A. Watts & Co., 1968), p. 71.

[17] Morrow, "Selected Topics," p. 19.

Preface (continued)

[18] Cosentino, "Professionalism," p. 114. In relationship to Ned Hanlan's morally upright life, Cosentino inserts this notion without further reference or substantiation.

[19] Howell, Sports and Games, p. 63.

[20] Cosentino, "Professionalism," p. 134.

[21] K. Jones, "Sport in Canada, 1900 - 1920" (Unpublished PhD, University of Alberta, 1970), p. 475.

[22] Ibid., p. 476.

[23] R. S. Lappage, "Sport in Canadian Society, 1921 - 1939" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1974), p. 216.

[24] Ibid., p. 222.

[25] Ibid., pp. 216-222. Mostly protestant churches and the YMCA, as a protestant association, were studied in the section on religion.

[26] Ibid., p. 220.

[27] There is no doubt that the social gospel viewed in very general terms influenced protestant and Catholic attitudes towards society. However, the movement primarily embraced protestantism. See Richard Allen, ed., The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Interdisciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, March 21-24, 1973, University of Regina, National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, History Division, paper no. 9, Ottawa, 1975.

Chapter 1

[1] John S. Moir, The Cross in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson, 1966), p. viii.

[2] T. R. Millman, "Canadian Anglican Journalism in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of the Canadian Church History Society (hereafter JCCHS), 3:5 (March, 1959). As an example, Anglicans published no less than 99 newspapers and periodicals in Canada between 1819 and 1900. Changing titles and short-lived ventures can account for much of this, but nevertheless, the number remains significant when totalled with Methodist and Presbyterian publications.

Chapter 1 (continued)

[3] John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, Vol. III, A History of the Christian Church in Canada, ed. J. W. Grant (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), p. 103.

[4] For an exceptional contemporary example of the social sciences prevalent in the social gospel, see John Marshall Barker, The Social Gospel and the New Era (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), who examines the sociological, philosophical and theological determinants of physical recreation as a social tool.

[5] Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada," Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth Century Canada, ed. S. D. Clark et. al. (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1975); also Rev. Canon W. W. Judd, "The Vision and the Dream. The Council for Social Service--Fifty Years," JCCHS, 8:4 (December, 1965).

[6] Grant, Canadian Era, p. 131.

[7] Lappage, "Sport in Canadian Society," pp. 216-222.

[8] Grant, Canadian Era, p. 131.

[9] Christian Messenger, September 7, 1838, p. 282.

[10] Charles Edwin Silcox, Church Union in Canada: Its Causes and Consequences (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933), p. 70.

[11] Grant, Canadian Era, p. 131.

[12] Silcox, p. 105.

[13] H. H. Walsh, "The Christian Heritage in Canada," Canadian Journal of Theology, 7:4 (1961), p. 281.

[14] Edward A. Christie, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada and Its Official Attitude Towards Public Affairs and Social Problems," (Unpublished MA, University of Toronto, 1935), p. 2.

[15] Ibid., p. 5.

[16] Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," The Shield of Achilles, ed. W. L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), p. 25.

[17] Grant, Canadian Era, p. 78.

Chapter 1 (continued)

[18] John Thomas McNeill, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875 - 1925 (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925), p. 63.

[19] Act and Proceeding of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (hereafter APAP), Thirty-Sixth General Assembly, 1910, pp. 272-287.

[20] Quoted in Silcox, Appendix F, Ratio of Specified Denominations to Total Population in Census Years, p. 477.

[21] French, "Evangelical Creed," p. 16.

[22] Walsh, "Christian Heritage," p. 279.

[23] S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. 413.

[24] French, "Evangelical Creed," p. 27.

[25] The basis of western capitalism is rooted in protestant ascetism. See for example S. D. Clark, "The Religious Sect in Canadian Economic Development," Canadian Society, ed. B. R. Blishen et. al. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1961), pp. 371-388.

[26] French, "Evangelical Creed," p. 21.

[27] D. C. Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 207.

[28] Silcox, Church Union, p. 35.

[29] T. R. Millman, "Tradition in the Anglican Church of Canada," The Churches and the Canadian Experience, ed. J. W. Grant (Toronto: Ryerson, 1963), p. 23.

[30] Allen, The Social Gospel in Canada, p. 2.

[31] Allen, "Reform Tradition," p. 45.

[32] Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914 - 1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 3.

[33] Allen, "Reform Tradition," p. 47.

[34] A. R. M. Lower, "Canada: Social and Cultural Institutions," Canada, ed. George W. Brown (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), p. 479.

Chapter 1 (continued)

[35] Allen, The Social Gospel in Canada, p. 18.

[36] Ibid., p. 19.

[37] William H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884 - 1914," Bulletin, Committee on Archives of the United Church of Canada, No. 20 (1968), p. 5.

[38] Allen, The Social Gospel in Canada, p. 4.

[39] Edward A. Christie, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada and its Official Attitude Towards Public Affairs and Social Problems, 1875 - 1925" (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1955), pp. 5-6.

[40] John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto: Bryant Press, 1975), p. 175.

[41] Allen, The Social Gospel in Canada, p. 30.

[42] See Masters, Protestant Church Colleges; also Masters, "Patterns of Thought in Anglican Colleges in the Nineteenth Century," JCCHS, 6:4 (December, 1964), pp. 54-68.

[43] For example, the General Secretary of the Methodist Department of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform was giving lectures in sociology from coast to coast as part of the Department's evangelical program by 1909. See the Fifth Annual Report of the Department of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church in Canada (hereafter DTPR), 1910, p. 4. For more information, see footnote no. 84.

[44] Allen, "Reform Tradition," p. 49.

[45] Several of his influential writings include Christianity and the Social Crisis, The Social Principles of Jesus, and A Theology for the Social Gospel, all of which went through many editions.

[46] DTPR, Fifth Annual Report, 1910, p. 3.

[47] Allen, The Social Gospel in Canada, p. 4.

[48] "Report of the Committee on Young People's Societies for 1902," APAP, Twenty-Ninth General Assembly, 1903, p. 247.

[49] Grant, Canadian Era, p. 131.

[50] Canadian Churchman, January 15, 1903, p. 39.

[51] Ibid.

Chapter 1 (continued)

[52] Organization and Weekday Activities, General Board of Religious Education (Anglican), nd, np.

[53] Why a General Board of Religious Education? GBRE, nd (circa 1920), p. 3.

[54] Ibid., p. 9.

[55] "Report of the Council on Young People's Work," October 29, 1919, p. 2.

[56] "Minutes of the Toronto AYPA Conference," November 18, 1920, p. 145.

[57] This dominance is evident in statistical data on Young People's Societies for 1898. Of a total of 943 enumerated for the year, 783 were Christian Endeavour.

[58] APAP, Twenty-First General Assembly, 1895, Appendix 21, p. v.

[59] Ibid., Twenty-First General Assembly, 1898, p. 316.

[60] Ibid., Twenty-Ninth General Assembly, 1903, p. 248.

[61] Model Constitution of the Presbyterian Guild, Committee on Young People's Societies, Presbyterian Church, nd (1903), p. 12.

[62] APAP, Twenty-Ninth General Assembly, 1903, p. 247.

[63] This is evident from annual statistics. A decade later, of the societies reporting in 1913, 1051 were Young People's Societies, and even the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour reported a greater increase in the number of societies than did the Presbyterian Guild.

[64] APAP, Thirty-Eighth General Assembly, 1912, p. 325.

[65] Ibid., Thirty-Ninth General Assembly, 1913, p. 217.

[66] Ibid., Forty-First General Assembly, 1915, p. 237.

[67] Ibid., p. 354.

[68] Clark, Church and Sect, p. 413.

[69] Ibid., p. 414.

[70] Walsh, "Christian Heritage," p. 279.

Chapter 1 (continued)

[71] Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church (hereafter MCMC), 1903, pp. 327-328.

[72] Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church (hereafter JPGCM), Eleventh General Conference, 1922, p. 235.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., p. 264. For greater detail, see Reports of the Department of Evangelism and Social Service (hereafter DESS), Nineteenth Annual Report, 1921, p. 14; Twentieth Annual Report, 1922, p. 65.

[75] DTPR, Twelfth Annual Report, 1914, p. 31.

[76] JPGCM, Eleventh General Conference, 1922, p. 264.

[77] MCMC, 1910, p. 459.

[78] Ibid., p. 56.

[79] JPGCM, Eighth General Conference, 1910, p. 467.

[80] Ibid., pp. 467-468.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Silcox, Church Union, p. 89.

[84] DTPR, Twelfth Annual Report, 1914. The name changed variously depending upon the desired emphasis between its social and religious commitment. It became the Department of Social Service and Evangelism (1915), later the Department of Evangelism and Social Service (1918). Titles of Annual Reports also reflect this concern for relevant emphasis. Examples include "Evangelism and Environment" (1920-21) and "Social Regeneration and Individual Christianity" (1923-24).

[85] Silcox, Church Union, p. 91. The name of this Department also varied. For most of the period it became known as the Board of Moral and Social Reform.

[86] "Minutes of the Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism (Presbyterian)," September 7, 1910 (United Church Archives).

[87] Ibid., September, 1908 to March 12, 1911.

Chapter 1 (continued)

[88] T. R. Millman, quoted in Rev. Canon Judd, "The Vision and the Dream: The Council for Social Service, Fifty Years," JCCHS, 8:4 (December, 1965), p. 79.

[89] Ibid., p. 78.

[90] "Annual Report of the Anglican Young People's Association," General Synod Journal, Anglican Church of Canada, 1922, p. 17.

[91] CJRT, 1:1 (January - February, 1924), p. 3.

[92] Allen, "Reform Tradition," pp. 55-59.

[93] Grant, Canadian Era, p. 122.

[94] Allen, The Social Passion, p. 17.

[95] Allen, "Reform Tradition," p. 58.

[96] Social Service Congress, Ottawa, March, 1914, p. v.

[97] Allen, Social Passion, p. 248.

[98] DTPR, Twelfth Annual Report, 1914, pp. 30-31.

[99] Ibid., Nineteenth Annual Report, 1921, p. 14.

[100] Ibid., Twentieth Annual Report, 1922, p. 65.

[101] APAP, Fifty-First General Assembly, 1925, p. 221. Some difficulty in securing statistics for the year was encountered, which may account for the lower total over the previous year, when in fact, a "moderate increase in the number of Presbyterian organizations" was reported (p. 223), the actual number then in excess of that reported the previous year, 4587 representing 103,462 members responding. APAP, Fiftieth General Assembly, 1924, p. 215.

Chapter 2

[1] Evangelical Churchman, February 28, 1884, p. 520.

[2] Magney, "Methodist Church," p. 13.

[3] Canadian Churchman, June 28, 1917, p. 441.

[4] Canadian Epworth Era, May, 1910, p. 103.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[5] R. W. Barker, "The United Church and Social Question" (PhD dissertation, Victoria University, 1961), p. 69.

[6] Rev. Canon Snowdon, St. George Church, Ottawa, quoted in the Canadian Churchman, September 6, 1917, pp. 568-569.

[7] Canadian Epworth Era, August, 1901, p. 233.

[8] Methodist Magazine and Review, July, 1901, p. 55.

[9] Christian Guardian, May 20, 1903, p. 7.

[10] Ibid., May 27, 1903, p. 5.

[11] Canadian Epworth Era, August, 1901, p. 233.

[12] Methodist Magazine and Review, November, 1904, pp. 432-434.

[13] Canadian Epworth Era, August, 1905, pp. 237-238.

[14] Ibid., May, 1910, p. 103.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Presbyterian Record, May, 1904, p. 211.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., p. 212.

[19] Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Proceedings, 1913, p. 67.

[20] Canadian Churchman, July 27, 1899, p. 471.

[21] Ibid., November 1, 1900, p. 661.

[22] Ibid., October 3, 1901, p. 596.

[23] Ibid., July 16, 1901, p. 451.

[24] The Teachers' Assistant (The Commission Bulletin), March, 1915, p. 13.

[25] Canadian Epworth Era, August, 1901, p. 233.

[26] Allen, Social Gospel in Canada, p. 4.

[27] Allen, Social Passion, pp. 3-4.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[28] Grant, Canadian Era, p. 101.

[29] This charming children's periodical used a great number of sport stories and included interesting sketches of action sports scenes.

[30] McNeill, Presbyterian Church in Canada, p. 163.

[31] The Teachers' Assistant (The Commission Bulletin), March, 1917, p. 8.

[32] Silcox, Church Union, pp. 240-241, contains additional minor references.

[33] The first convention of Sunday school teachers was held in 1856. See for a general overview, "History of the Associated Sunday-School Work in the Dominion of Canada," in The Encyclopedia of Sunday Schools and Religious Education (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1915), p. 196ff.

[34] Silcox, Church Union, p. 240.

[35] APAP, Twenty-Fourth General Assembly, 1898, p. 317.

[36] Ibid., p. 319.

[37] Ibid., Twenty-Fifth General Assembly, 1899, p. 299.

[38] Ibid., Fortieth General Assembly, 1914, p. 263.

[39] MCMC, 1903, p. 327.

[40] McNeill, Presbyterian Church in Canada, p. 177.

[41] "Register of Papers, Presbyterian Church in Canada," 1894 - 1904.

[42] Presbyterian Record, March,1902, p. 129.

[43] Christian Guardian, June 24, 1907, p. 29. The value of exercise is briefly discussed and the importance of wholesome games noted.

[44] Presbyterian Record, June, 1912, pp. 263-264.

[45] Canadian Epworth Era, May, 1913, p. 112.

[46] Presbyterian Record, July, 1913, pp. 313-315.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[47] Ibid., January, 1916, pp. 14-15.

[48] Ibid., January, 1917, p. 19.

[49] Canadian Churchman, June 4, 1916, pp. 355-356.

[50] See, for example, an article about the same time. Canadian Churchman, June 14, 1896, p. 395.

[51] The addresses were subsequently reported in the Canadian Churchman. See "Social Problems," October 14, 1896, p. 635; "Church Clubs," November 12, 1896, p. 700; "Recreation and Amusement," January 14, 1897, p. 28; and "Church Social Gatherings," December 3, 1896, p. 749.

[52] Canadian Churchman, February 23, 1899, p. 116.

[53] The Westminster, for example, carried few articles relating to physical recreation, directly, but when they did, American articles were invariably used. See, for example, "Health and Recreation" (May, 1909, pp. 343-344) and "The Value of Exercise" (April, 1914, pp. 370-376).

[54] MCMC, 1904, p. 92.

[55] Ibid., p. 327.

[56] Methodist Magazine and Review, August, 1906, p. 132.

[57] APAP, Twenty-Ninth General Assembly, 1903, pp. 248-249.

[58] Ibid., Thirtieth General Assembly, 1904, p. 285.

[59] Ibid., Thirty-Fourth General Assembly, 1908, p. 273.

[60] Ibid., Thirty-Sixth General Assembly, 1910, p. 287.

[61] Ibid., Thirty-Ninth General Assembly, 1913, p. 233.

[62] Ibid., p. 238.

[63] Ibid., pp. 238-241.

[64] Ibid., p. 241.

[65] Ibid., p. 233.

[66] Ibid., Thirty-Sixth General Assembly, 1910, p. 287.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[67] Ibid., Thirty-Ninth General Assembly, 1913, pp. 242-243. These pages contain a long list of books on the young boy problem and methods in young people's work.

[68] Ibid., Fortieth General Assembly, 1914, p. 245.

[69] General Synod Journal of the Anglican Church in Canada, 1911, p. 266.

[70] Canadian Churchman, February 21, 1924, p. 119.

[71] Ibid., June 4, 1908.

[72] An article entitled "Sunday Golf, Is It Playing the Game?" culled from the secular press was reprinted many times over the span of a decade in the Presbyterian Record. See, for example, September, 1914, pp. 408-409.

[73] Canadian Churchman, August 20, 1908, p. 538.

[74] See, for example, Bulletin of the Council of Social Service (of the Anglican Church in Canada), No. 35, April, 1920.

[75] Canadian Churchman, July 23, 1903, p. 466.

[76] Canadian Churchman, April 13, 1905, p. 232.

[77] Ibid., November 25, 1920, p. 770.

[78] "Minutes of the Board of Moral and Social Reform (Presbyterian Church)," September 6, 1910, p. 12.

[79] DTPR, Twelfth Annual Report, 1914, p. 32. The venues for the surveys on mainly religious, social (often interpreted as recreational) and moral life included the following: Huron County, Ontario, Hamilton, Sydney, London, Regina, Turtle Mountain District, Manitoba, St. Catharines District, Ontario, Vancouver, Swan River Valley, Manitoba and Fort William.

[80] Department of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, The Pictou District, Nova Scotia, Report of a Limited Survey of the Rural and Urban Conditions, July - August, 1915.

[81] The Presbyterian Committee on Religious Education and the Methodist Department of Temperance and Moral Reform, and the Presbyterian Board of Social Service and Evangelism, The City of London, Ontario, Report on a Limited Survey of Educational, Social and Industrial Life, October - December 1913, p. 10.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] The Departments of Social Service and Evangelism of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, *The St. Catharines District, Ontario, Report on a Limited Survey of Religious, Moral, Industrial and Housing Conditions*, n.d. (1915), p. 18.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid., p. 15.

[87] Report of the cooperating organizations of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, *Rural Survey, Swan River Valley, Manitoba*, 1914, p. 65.

[88] Department of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church and the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church, *Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Hamilton*, April, 1913, p. 20.

[89] *Swan River Valley*, p. 29.

[90] *Presbyterian and Westminster*, November 13, 1919, p. 444.

[91] "Report of the Council on Young People's Work," October 29, 1919, Anglican Church in Canada, p. 1.

[92] "The Church and Recreation," *Bulletin of the Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada*, No. 70, September, 1924, indicated that the Anglican church had at last become serious in its efforts to win the worldly favour of the young boy.

[93] *East and West* (Presbyterian), December 15, 1906, p. 398.

[94] Grant, *Canadian Era*, p. 102.

[95] "Minutes of the Board of Moral and Social Reform," (Presbyterian Church in Canada), September 7, 1909, p. 22.

[96] Ibid., September 6, 1910, p. 12.

[97] *Canadian Epworth Era*, January, 1908, p. 11.

[98] *APAP*, Thirty-Eighth General Assembly, 1912, p. 323.

[99] *Onward*, March 4, 1916.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[100] MCMC, 1910, p. 399.

[101] The Presbyterian and Westminster, May 8, 1919, p. 451.

[102] Department of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church and the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church, Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Fort William, March, 1913, p. 11.

[103] Department of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church and the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church, Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Regina, September, 1913, p. 29.

[104] Ibid., p. 25.

[105] London Survey, op. cit., p. 11.

[106] Ibid., p. 14.

[107] St. Catharines Survey, op. cit., p. 20.

[108] Ibid.

[109] The Presbyterian and Westminster, May 8, 1919, p. 452.

[110] Presbyterian Record, June, 1919, p. 166.

[111] Ibid.

[112] APAP, Forty-Sixth General Assembly, 1920, p. 239.

[113] Youth and Service, March, 1920, p. 35.

[114] Ibid., March, 1920, p. 35.

[115] Ibid.

[116] The Canadian Churchman reviewed an article entitled "The Growth of Methodism in Canada" by a layman, and criticized the church for its YMCA approach and political tactics. See Canadian Churchman, December 1, 1898, p. 728.

[117] Canadian Churchman, September 3, 1903, p. 530; Emphasis mine.

[118] Ibid., September 3, 1903, p. 530.

[119] Ibid.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[120] Ibid., May 30, 1912, p. 340.

[121] Ibid., July 22, 1915, p. 463.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid., December 14, 1916, p. 791.

[125] Ibid., August 2, 1917, p. 496.

[126] David Macleod, "A Live Vaccine: The YMCA and Adolescence in the United States and Canada, 1870 - 1920," Paper for Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, June 2, 1977, p. 13.

[127] The Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests, National Council of the YMCA of Canada, 4th Edition, October, 1914, p. 4. According to the fourth edition, the Sunday School Commissions were invited in 1914 to participate in expanding the program for protestant Sunday school and church use. The forward lists the participating bodies which responded, including the Sunday School Commission of the Church of England, the General Board of Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies of the Methodist Church, the Board of Sabbath Schools and Young People's Societies of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Sunday School Board of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and the Canadian Council of Provincial Sunday School Associations. However, Macleod, "Live Vaccine," p. 13, suggests that by 1911 a planning committee of YMCA laymen and Sunday school leaders were at work.

[128] Ibid., p. 14.

[129] APAP, Fortieth General Assembly, 1914. "Report of Commission on Religious Education," noted: "But more must be done in providing leadership than the local congregation can do.
1) In boys' work the need is urgent. A most hopeful conference was recently held in Toronto between the Y.M.C.A., the denominations, and the International Sunday School Association. This was an attempt to secure the co-ordination of all units for the promotion of boys' work, boys' conferences, etc." p. 236.

[130] Ibid., Forty-First General Assembly, 1915, p. 239. The recommendation of the Report of the Board of Sabbath Schools and Young People's Societies read: "That organized classes with suitable week-day activities, such as are suggested in the "Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests for Boys" be commended for all teen-age classes, are that the spiritual side of this work be carefully fostered."

Chapter 2 (continued)

[131] Ralph W. Barker, "The United Church and the Social Question: A Study of the Social and Theological Outlook of the United Church of Canada after Thirty-Five Years" (Ph.D., University of Toronto Graduate School of Theological Studies, 1961), p. 69.

[132] Macleod, op. cit., p. 15.

[133] P. R. Hayward, The Mentor's Manual, The National Boys' Work Board of the Religious Education Council of Canada, 1921, p. 12. This booklet claims there were 25,000 Trail Rangers and Tuxis Boys, most of whom would have had some experience with CSET, which was also in limited use in schools and other clubs.

[134] Canadian Churchman, October 27, 1921, p. 654.

[135] APAP, Fiftieth General Assembly, 1924, p. 217.

[136] Ibid., p. 218.

[137] JPGCM, Eleventh General Conference, 1922, p. 410.

[138] Youth and Service, July, 1916, p. 148. The article, entitled "A Challenge to Canadian Manhood for Leadership in Boys' Work," required no less than four full pages.

[139] Canadian Churchman, November 16, 1916, p. 736.

[140] Ibid., November 23, 1916, p. 743.

[141] Ibid., June 21, 1917, p. 395.

[142] For example, the Excelsior Anglican Club of Brockville, Ontario. See Canadian Churchman, May 24, 1917, p. 332; December 27, 1917, p. 838.

[143] By way of example, see the editor's interjected comment, "We feel certain that similar work can be carried on in scores of towns and cities in Canada - Editor." Canadian Churchman, May 25, 1916, p. 329.

[144] Canadian Churchman, August 2, 1917, p. 496.

[145] Ibid., December 27, 1917, p. 832.

[146] Ibid., December 20, 1917, p. 821.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., January 24, 1918, p. 57.

[149] Ibid., November 15, 1917, p. 730.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[150] Ibid., January 10, 1918, p. 22.

[151] Ibid., January 17, 1918, p. 41.

[152] Ibid., December 27, 1917, p. 837.

[153] Ibid., December 20, 1917, p. 821.

[154] Ibid., January 17, 1918, p. 42.

[155] Ibid. A debate in the Boys Parliament, to amalgamate CSET and Boy Scouts led to a quick defeat for the Bill.

[156] Ibid., January 24, 1918, p. 57.

[157] Ibid., October 27, 1921, p. 633. The survey reported that 40.6% belonged to some form of boys club; 15.5% to private clubs or church clubs; 8.5% to the YMCA; 8.0% to Boy Scouts; 4.4% to Tuxis and Trail Rangers; and 1.8% to Junior organizations. The survey included Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Anglican, Roman Catholic and Hebrew respondents.

[158] Presbyterian Record, May, 1900, p. 145.

[159] Canadian Churchman, June 5, 1902, p. 363.

[160] Ibid., January 15, 1903, p. 39.

[161] Ibid., October 22, 1903, p. 644.

[162] Presbyterian Record, July, 1913, p. 313.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Ibid.

[165] DTPR, Eleventh Annual Report, 1913, p. 51.

[166] Presbyterian Record, July, 1914, p. 304.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Ibid., p. 305.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[170] In its 1920 report, the Department of Evangelism and Social Service, "believing in the power of play and recreation as a moral influence, recommend: (a) The securing in all communities of an ample number of playgrounds where play may be organized and supervised; (b) The discouraging of the prevalence of too much professionalism in athletics, and encouraging of old and young to join together on the playground for exercise and recreation." DESS, Eighteenth Annual Report, 1920, p. 23.

[171] Presbyterian Record, July, 1914, p. 304.

[172] Canadian Churchman, July 15, 1915, p. 448.

[173] Ibid., January 1, 1920, p. 5.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Ibid., December 3, 1896, p. 749, for example.

[176] Presbyterian and Westminster, July 8, 1920, p. 35.

[177] Canadian Churchman, January 1, 1920, p. 5.

[178] Presbyterian Record, January, 1916, pp. 14-15.

[179] Ibid., p. 14.

[180] Ibid., p. 15.

[181] DESS, Sixteenth Annual Report, 1918, p. 21.

[182] See, for example, Rev. S. T. Tucker, "The Church and Recreation," Canadian Epworth Era, May, 1913, p. 112.

[183] Canadian Epworth Era, November, 1913, p. 242.

[184] Ibid.

[185] Ibid., p. 243.

[186] Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, May 31 - June 4, 1913, p. 81.

[187] Canadian Churchman, May 15, 1902, p. 314.

[188] Ibid., December 29, 1904, p. 809.

[189] Ibid.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[190] Ibid., December 3, 1908, p. 775.

[191] Ibid., October 16, 1902, p. 660.

[192] Ibid., February 22, 1906, p. 126.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid., May 10, 1906, p. 312.

[195] Ibid., September 20, 1906.

[196] Ibid., October 25, 1906, p. 682.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid., August 30, 1906, p. 548; November 28, 1907, p. 771.

[199] The annual meeting was held in late May and a new president chosen, Rev. H. H. Bedford-Jones; Canadian Churchman, May 21, 1908, p. 350.

[200] Ibid., November 15, 1906, p. 734.

[201] Ibid., November 29, 1906, p. 766.

[202] Ibid., June 27, 1907, p. 434.

[203] Ibid., January 16, 1908, p. 45.

[204] Ibid., November 28, 1907, p. 770.

[205] Year Book and Clergy List of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, 1907 (Toronto: Joseph P. Clougher), p. 55.

[206] Canadian Churchman, February 25, 1909, p. 115.

[207] APAP, Fiftieth General Assembly, 1924, p. 217.

[208] The generic name, Athletic Association, may have been popularly used in Toronto to report some of the sporting activities of church teams but without implying necessarily the breadth of organization which the Ottawa experiment entailed. However, a note on the St. Stephen's Athletic Association in Toronto in 1914 would indicate a somewhat similar style of organization, with its scheduling and elected officials. See Canadian Churchman, April 9, 1914, p. 234.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[209] The proposal was originally submitted to the Bishop and local clergy for approval in February, 1906, at which time their approval was granted, and reaffirmed at subsequent times. See, for example, Canadian Churchman, February 22, 1907, p. 126; November 28, 1907, p. 770.

[210] Canadian Epworth Era, February, 1907, p.57 .

[211] Ibid.

[212] Ibid.

[213] Ibid., August, 1901, p. 233.

[214] Ibid., February, 1907, p. 57.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Onward, May 20, 1916, p. 168.

[217] Ibid. This was evident from the survey results completed by the Methodist and Presbyterian churches between 1913 - 1916.

[218] Canadian Churchman, August 12, 1920, p. 525.

[219] Ibid., December 8, 1921, p. 747. An account of the Diocesan Church Club formed at St. James Parish House, Toronto.

[220] Ibid., November 25, 1925, p. 729.

[221] Ibid., June 25, 1925, p. 414.

[222] Ibid., April 24, 1924, p. 276.

[223] Christian Guardian, November 1, 1911, p. 8.

[224] Ibid., p. 9.

[225] Canadian Epworth Era, January, 1910, p. 5.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Ibid.

[228] "Boy Scouts and Other Organizations," Bulletin of the Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada, No. 58, June, 1922.

[229] Canadian Epworth Era, June, 1906, p. 182.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[230] Ibid.

[231] Ibid.

[232] Ibid.

[233] Canadian Churchman, June 25, 1914, p. 409.

[234] Ibid.

[235] Ibid., August 4, 1921, p. 462.

[236] Presbyterian Record, May, 1900, p. 145.

[237] Canadian Churchman, Spetember 13, 1923, p. 592.

[238] Ibid., July 9, 1925, p. 442.

[239] Ibid.

[240] APAP, Twenty-Fifth General Assembly, 1899, p. 269.

[241] Ibid., Forty-First General Assembly, 1915, p. 240.

[242] Ibid., Fiftieth General Assembly, 1924, p. 215.

[243] H. H. Horne, "Introduction to Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests Handbook," The Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests, 8th edition, March, 1916, p. 9.

[244] Macleod, "Live Vaccine," p. 14.

[245] Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests, 8th edition, March, 1916, pp. 34-78.

[246] McNeill, Presbyterian Church, p. 182.

[247] Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests, 6th edition, October, 1914, p. 34; repeated verbatim in 8th edition, 1916.

[248] Ibid., 8th edition, March, 1916, p. 44.

[249] The C.S.E.T. Manual for Tuxis Boys (Boys 15 years and Over) Including the Canadian Standard Efficiency Training Program (hereafter C.S.E.T. Manual), 3rd edition, March, 1922, pp. 43-44.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[250] With the Eighth edition of the Tests, March, 1916, there was a conscious effort to approach the physical program from this perspective. This is documented in the Preface to the Eighth edition: "Among the developments since the issue of the last edition is the emphasis placed on this as a course of training in 'The Jesus Way' of living," a view preferred by the denominations. The Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests, 8th edition, 1916, p. 8.

[251] The principles are discussed from the perspective of The Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests, 8th edition, March, 1916, pp. 23-26.

[252] Ibid., p. 23.

[253] Ibid., p. 24.

[254] Ibid.

[255] Ibid., p. 26.

[256] Tests, October, 1914, pp. 34-36.

[257] C.S.E.T. Manual, 1922, p. 47.

[258] Tests, October, 1914, p. 36.

[259] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[260] Ibid., p. 48.

[261] C.S.E.T. Manual, March, 1922, p. 51.

[262] Tests, March, 1916, p. 48.

[263] Ibid., October, 1914, p. 38.

[264] See, for example, Canadian Churchman, May 24, 1917, p. 332. The Excelsior Anglican Club took tests in rowing, basketball, volleyball, group games and athletics at one Thanksgiving outing.

[265] C.S.E.T. Manual, March, 1922, p. 51.

[266] Tests, October, 1914, pp. 38-39.

[267] Presbyterian Record, November, 1912, p. 502.

[268] Tests, October, 1914, pp. 39-40.

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Chapter 2 (continued)

[269] Ibid., March, 1916, p. 51.

[270] Ibid.

[271] "History of Tuxis and Trail Rangers," unpublished paper, United Church of Canada Archives.

[272] *The Canadian Mentor*, April, 1925, p. 5. This was an official organ of the YMCA.

[273] Ibid., "Hints for Training for the National Athletic Meet," p. 8. This feature of the CSET program was developed near the end of the war and continued for many years.

[274] *C.S.E.T. Manual*, March, 1922, p. 57.

[275] *The Mentor's Manual: A Handbook for Leaders. Canadian Standard Efficiency Training for Trail Rangers and Tuxis Boys*, Percy R. Hayward, National Boys Work Board of the Religious Educational Council of Canada, 2nd edition, revised 1921, p. 8.

[276] *Tests*. March, 1916, pp. 51-57.

[277] Ibid., p. 52, 56.

[278] Macleod, "Live Vaccine," p. 15.

[279] Ibid.

[280] *The Mentor's Manual*, p. 12.

[281] "Minutes of the Local Council of the Anglican Young People's Association," Toronto, March 13, 1919, p. 23; March 8, 1921, p. 81; January 18, 1922, p. 119 (hereafter "Minutes of Local Council").

[282] "Annual Report of the Anglican Young People's Association," *General Synod Journal, Anglican Church of Canada*, 1922, p. 17.

[283] Ibid., p. 29.

[284] "Minutes of Local Council," May 17, 1920, p. 45.

[285] Ibid.

[286] Ibid., March 16, 1921, p. 83; May 4, 1921, p. 88; June 1, 1921, p. 92.

[287] Ibid., October 1, 1924, p. 235.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[288] Ibid.

[289] Ibid., April 6, 1921, p. 84.

[290] Ibid., May 3, 1922, p. 126.

[291] Ibid., May 16, 1923, p. 185.

[292] Ibid., June 6, 1923, p. 189.

[293] Ibid., May 16, 1923, p. 185.

[294] Ibid., April 21, 1920.

[295] Ibid., June 18, 1921, p. 94.

[296] Ibid., March 15, 1922, p. 122.

[297] Ibid., December 6, 1922, p. 148.

[298] Ibid., January 17, 1923,

[299] Ibid., February 7, 1923, p. 164; March 21, 1923, p. 176.

[300] Ibid., September 17, 1924, p. 233.

[301] Ibid., November 5, 1924, p. 240.

[302] Canadian Churchman, November 30, 1922, p. 782.

[303] "Minutes of Local Council," June 7, 1922, p. 131.

[304] Ibid., June 21, 1922, p. 132.

[305] Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 192.

[306] Presbyterian Record, March, 1902, p. 130.

[307] Canadian Epworth Era, February, 1912, p. 37. The general program included such things as arranging for a series of talks by prominent men, on manufacturing and business techniques or on a photo competition to cultivate the "esthetic sense and artistic taste."

[308] Ibid.

[309] Methodist Magazine and Review, July, 1901, p. 39.

[310] APAP, Thirty-Eighth General Assembly, 1912, p. 324.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[311] Canadian Churchman, October 24, 1907, p. 684.

[312] Ibid., June 16, 1904, p. 373.

[313] The subtitle of the Strathcona Trust. The Strathcona Trust: For the Encouragement of Physical and Military Training in the Public Schools of Canada, Department of National Defence, Ottawa, January 2, 1948, p. 1.

[314] APAP, Twenty-First General Assembly, 1895, Appendix 21, p. iii.

[315] The Presbyterian Record, April, 1900, p. 117.

[316] Canadian Churchman, January 5, 1905, p. 5.

[317] Strathcona Trust, p. 1.

[318] Canadian Churchman, February 13, 1908, p. 105.

[319] Ibid., February 13, 1908, p. 105.

[320] Ibid., April 15, 1909, p. 232.

[321] Canadian Epworth Era, January, 1910, p. 4.

[322] DTPR, Sixth Annual Report, 1911, p. 52.

[323] A prominent Presbyterian, Dr. G. C. Pidgeon, noted in his series of articles on the church's interest in moral reform, that, "The state is as really an institution of divine origin as the home or the church. Old and New Testaments alike teach that its authority is from God for the maintenance of righteousness in the land (Rom. 13:1-10)." Presbyterian Record, February, 1910, p. 54.

[324] DTPR, Eleventh Annual Report, 1913, p. 60.

[325] Social Service Congress, Ottawa, March 3-5, 1914, p. 320.

[326] Canadian Churchman, October 15, 1914, p. 664.

[327] Ibid., October 22, 1914, p. 680.

[328] Youth and Service, July, 1916, p. 148.

[329] Ibid.

[330] Mentor's Manual, 1921, p. 58.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[331] Canadian Churchman, November 16, 1916, p. 727.

[332] Strathcona Trust, p. 1.

[333] Ibid., 1948, p. 2.

[334] Ontario Department of Education, School Cadet Corps, Classes in Military Instruction, Instruction No. 10, 1922, p. 6.

[335] Ibid., p. 9.

[336] Canadian Churchman, October 2, 1919, p. 633.

[337] The Christian Guardian, October 6, 1915, p. 5.

[338] DESS, Twenty-Third Annual Report, 1925, p. 11.

[339] The United Church of Canada was especially involved in the Toronto Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

[340] Military Training in Canadian Schools and Colleges, Educational Committee of the Toronto Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, nd (1929), p. 3.

[341] Ibid., p. 2. An earlier pamphlet of the same title and essentially the same content, in roughly the same order but without a cited author indicated that in 1926 there were sixty-eight courses in physical training (p. 2), indicating a decline in numbers and interest during the two years in this form of training.

[342] Ibid.

[343] Ibid., p. 3.

[344] Barker, "The United Church and the Social Question," p. 42. Barker believed the social gospel to have three essential characteristics which determined its social and educational perspective. First, was the view that the gospel was roughly equivalent to liberalism. "For the social gospel, if not integral to liberalism, was at least its logical accompaniment" (p. 42). Second, "Another characteristic of the social gospel was the tendency to equate the doctrine of Divine Providence with the theory of evolution set forth by Darwin, which was transferred uncritically from the organic field to that of behavior. This received expression in the doctrine of inevitable progress" (p. 42). And thirdly, "Closely related was what might be termed a quantitative theory of good and evil which tended to the view that as one increased the other decreased" (p. 42). Those who had no qualms about the militarism aspect of the Cadet system might readily believe that a change in behaviour was a step forward.

Chapter 2 (continued)

[345] I. A. Byers, Military Training in Canadian Schools, nd (1929), p. 4.

Chapter 3

[1] Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 193.

[2] Christie, "Presbyterian," p. 219.

[3] APAP, Twenty-Fifth General Assembly, 1899, p. 269.

[4] Grant, Canadian Era, p. 101.

[5] Ibid., p. 103.

[6] Allen, "Reform Tradition," p. 52.

[7] Ibid., p. 50.

[8] Grant, Canadian Era, p. 130.

[9] JPGCM, Eighth General Conference, 1910, p. 415.

[10] CJRT, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1924, p. 3. Under the title "A revived interest in Theology."

[11] Canadian Churchman, August 31, 1922, p. 571.

[12] R. G. MacBeth, The Burning Bush and Canada (Toronto: John M. Poole, nd, 1926), p. 150.

[13] Canadian Churchman, August 24, 1922, p. 546.

[14] Rev. J. O. Miller, Short Studies in Ethics (Toronto: The Bryant Press, 1895), p. 71.

[15] Ibid., p. 79.

[16] Ibid., p. 74.

[17] Ibid., p. 75.

[18] Ibid., p. 75.

[19] Rev. H. T. Crossley, Practical Talks on Important Themes (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895), p. 72.

Chapter 3 (continued)

[20] The Christian Guardian, July 24, 1907, p. 29. As "the Christian's body is not his own," a number of essential activities were required from the Christian viewpoint: temperance, cleanliness, exercise, work and rest.

[21] Ibid., pp. 72-73.

[22] Ibid., p. 75.

[23] Ibid., p. 76. Italics not mine.

[24] The Teachers' Assistant, April, 1918, p. 173.

[25] See, for example, the Report of the Commission on Religious Education, APAP, 1914. Social surveys reemphasized the primacy of the home in character formation (p. 231). Also, APAP, 1899, p. 298; 1903, p. 278.

[26] Royce, "Methodism," p. 256.

[27] Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel," p. 10.

[28] John Webster Grant, "The Impact of Christianity on Canadian Culture and Society 1867 - 1967," p. 43. The Ker Lectures for 1967.

[29] Charles Howard Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865 - 1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 105-106.

[30] Canadian Churchman, August 24, 1922, p. 546.

[31] Ibid., April 8, 1909, p. 223.

[32] Presbyterian Record, May, 1900, p. 145.

[33] The Teachers' Assistant, Vol. V, No. 5, May, 1914, p. 212.

[34] Norman E. Richardson and Ormond E. Loomis, The Boy Scout Movement Applied by the Church (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1916), pp. 162-177.

[35] Ibid., pp. 167-168.

[36] Ibid., p. 166.

Chapter 3 (continued)

[37] The Methodist Department of Temperance and Moral Reform discussed the issues of health and physical recreation and sport under the headings: "The Development of a Sound Physique" and the "Conservation and Development of Character," DTPR, 13th Annual Report, 1915, pp. 79-81.

[38] Canadian Epworth Era, August, 1901, p. 227.

[39] Royce, "Methodism," pp. 263-264.

[40] John Marshall Barker, The Social Gospel and the New Era (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1919), p. 42.

[41] John R. Commons, Social Reform and the Church, 1894, Reprinted by Economic Classics (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967), p. 30.

[42] Presbyterian Record, August, 1897, p. 217.

[43] William T. Gunn, His Dominion (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, 1917), p. 181.

[44] Commons, Social Reform, p. 32.

[45] Presbyterian Record, June, 1912, p. 263.

[46] Ibid., July 14, 1914, p. 304.

[47] Ibid., August, 1916, p. 354.

[48] Pre-Assembly Congress, 1912, p. 66.

[49] See, for example, "Body and Soul--A Theory," in The Canadian Methodist Review, July - August, 1895, p. 309.

[50] CJRT, Vol. 1, No. 2, March - April, 1924, p. 131. Hayward attempted to substantiate the new interest in religious education within the church by noting that at the turn of the century few books were available on the subject and over the next generation more than 6,000 volumes were published on it, most since 1903.

[51] Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 4, July - August, 1924, p. 346.

[52] APAP, Thirty-Eighth General Assembly, 1912, p. 315.

[53] Canadian Epworth Era, May, 1913, p. 112.

[54] Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913, p. 159.

Chapter 3 (continued)

[55] Canadian Churchman, November 23, 1916, p. 744.

[56] Ibid.

[57] JPGCM, Eleventh General Conference, 1922, p. 264.

[58] Ibid., Tenth General Conference, 1918, p. 310.

[59] In 1915 these included Chalmers' House, Montreal, St. Christopher House, Toronto, Roberston Memorial Institute, Winnipeg and First Church Institute, Vancouver. See details, APAP, 1915, pp. 350-351.

[60] 37.5% were urban by 1900. Part One of the Canadians, ed. J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), p. 116.

[61] John MacDougall, Rural Life in Canada: Its Trend and Tasks (Toronto: The Westminster Company, 1913), p. 190.

[62] Christian Guardian, August 28, 1907, p. 6.

[63] Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913, pp. 159-160.

[64] Canadian Churchman, November 28, 1918, p. 761.

[65] The Teachers' Assistant, March, 1918, p. 122.

[66] The Methodist Magazine and Review, August, 1906, p. 107.

[67] Canadian Churchman, August 30, 1923, p. 557.

[68] Ibid., September 13, 1923, p. 592.

[69] Clark, Church and Sect, p. 416.

[70] Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), The Life of James Robertson (Toronto: Westminster Co., 1909), p. 30.

[71] For example, Trinity College. "The different organizations under management of the association [athletic association formed in 1892] are cricket, football, hockey, tennis and baseball clubs, the gymnasium and the annual games. The last two mentioned are comparatively new institutions. The gymnasium has been built about two years and fills a long felt want. It is being fitted up with the necessary apparatus as fast as possible, and already contains horizontal ladders, climbing ropes, punching bag, patent exercises, horizontal bar, parallel bars, tackling bag, and several good mattresses." Trinity College Yearbook, 1895/96, p. 108.

Chapter 3 (continued)

[72] William Lawson Grant and Frederick Hamilton, *Principal Grant* (Toronto: Morang and Company, 1904), p. 475.

[73] *The Teachers' Assistant*, November 6, 1922, p. 8.

[74] *Canadian Churchman*, July 18, 1901, p. 453.

[75] Ibid., July 26, 1906, p. 500.

[76] Ibid., August 15, 1912, p. 489.

[77] Ibid., April 18, 1912, p. 244.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Barker, "The United Church." The belief in inevitable progress.

[80] Paul Villard, *Up to the Light: The Story of French Protestantism in Canada* (Toronto: Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1927), pp. 175-176.

[81] *Methodist Magazine and Review*, March, 1902, p. 361.

[82] Ibid., July, 1903, p. 83.

[83] *Canadian Epworth Era*, July, 1904, pp. 201-202.

[84] Rev. A. C. Crews, *The Adult Bible Class: How to Organize, Teach and Conduct It* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908), p. 100.

[85] *Methodist Magazine and Review*, October, 1905, p. 313.

[86] *Canadian Churchman*, September 6, 1923, p. 570.

[87] *The Westminster*, May, 1909, p. 344.

[88] *Christian Guardian*, March 15, 1911, p. 5.

[89] *Canadian Churchman*, May 19, 1921, p. 311.

[90] *The Presbyterian Record*, July, 1913, p. 313.

[91] Ibid., July, 1914, pp. 304-305.

[92] Ibid., June, 1912, p. 264.

[93] *Canadian Churchman*, February 26, 1920, p. 137.

Chapter 3 (continued)

[94] "The Church and Recreation," *Bulletin for the Council for Social Service*, No. 70, September, 1924, p. 4.

[95] Ibid., p. 10.

[96] *Canadian Churchman*, January 1, 1920, p. 5.

[97] *The Canadian Mentor*, April, 1925, p. 4.

[98] *Presbyterian Record*, July, 1913, p. 313.

[99] Department of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church, the Board of Social Service and Evangelism, and the Board of Sabbath Schools and Young People's Societies of the Presbyterian Church, County of Huron, Ontario. *Report on a Rural Survey of the Agricultural, Educational, Social and Religious Life*, December - January, 1913 - 1914, p. 26.

[100] Departments of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, *Turtle Mountain District, Manitoba, Report on a Rural Survey of the Agricultural, Educational, Social and Religious Life*, June - July, 1914, p. 65. Very few of the social surveys give the kind of statistical reference needed in order to split those for and those against recreation within the church. The Turtle Mountain survey found similar data as the Huron Study: 44% were doubtful and a like percentage were opposed.

[101] *APAP*, Eighteenth General Assembly, 1895, Appendix 21, p. iv.

[102] *Methodist Magazine and Review*, September, 1901, p. 282.

[103] *Canadian Epworth Era*, April, 1899, p. 112.

[104] *MCMC*, 1904, p. 325.

[105] *APAP*, Twenty-Eighth General Assembly, 1902, p. 265.

[106] *Canadian Churchman*, March 27, 1902, p. 196.

[107] *Canadian Epworth Era*, July, 1903, p. 199.

[108] *APAP*, Thirty-First General Assembly, 1905, p. 246.

[109] Ibid., Thirty-Second General Assembly, 1906, p. 304.

[110] Christie, "Presbyterian," p. 219.

Chapter 3 (continued)

[111] John R. Fairs, "When was the Golden Age of the Body?" CAHPER, Vol. 37, No. 1, September - October, 1970.

[112] Charles K. Brightbull and Harold D. Meyer, Community Recreation: A guide to its Organization (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall), p. 10. See also the interesting chapter entitled, "Religious Organizations and Recreation."

[113] Loomis and Richardson, Boy Scout Movement as Applied by the Church, p. 61.

[114] Canadian Churchman, June 14, 1906, p. 391.

[115] Methodist Magazine and Review, March, 1896, p. 273.

[116] French, Evangelical Creed, p. 28.

[117] See Chapter 2, "Sports and Games."

[118] Canadian Epworth Era, July, 1903, p. 208.

[119] Robert E. Speer, A Young Man's Questions (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), pp. 182-183.

[120] Canadian Epworth Era, April, 1912, p. 79.

[121] Royce, "Methodism," pp. 255-256.

[122] Canadian Annual Review, 1904, p. 576.

[123] Canadian Churchman, March 21, 1907, p. 192.

[124] The Presbyterian Record, June, 1912, pp. 263-264.

[125] Canadian Churchman, February 13, 1913, p. 100.

[126] Canadian Annual Review, 1909, pp. 314-315.

[127] Canadian Churchman, February 27, 1908, p. 105.

[128] Canadian Epworth Era, May, 1913, p. 112.

[129] Ibid., November, 1913, p. 242.

[130] DESS, Eighteenth Annual Report, 1920, p. 23.

[131] Ibid., Twenty-Second Annual Report, 1924, p. 77.

Chapter 3 (continued)

[132] Ibid., Twenty-Second Annual Report, 1924, p. 77.

[133] Ibid., Eleventh Annual Report, 1913, pp. 51-52.

[134] Christian Guardian, December 6, 1905, p. 3.

[135] Canadian Epworth Era, July, 1901, p. 195.

[136] Christie, "Presbyterian," p. 221.

[137] Minutes of the Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism, September 6, 1910, p. 12.

[138] Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church, 1913, p. 38.

[139] See, for example, the lengthy reports of the Board of Moral and Social Reform to the General Assembly such as its 1910 Annual Report. APAP, Thirty-Sixth General Assembly, 1910, pp. 276-279.

[140] Presbyterian Record, May, 1915, p. 206.

[141] Canadian Epworth Era, July, 1904, p. 201.

[142] Methodist Magazine and Review, October, 1905, pp. 312-313.

[143] Canadian Churchman, May 2, 1907, p. 293.

[144] Magney, "National Gospel," p. 11.

[145] Christian Guardian, October 30, 1907, p. 10.

[146] Barker, "United Church," p. 42.

[147] APAP, Thirty-Fourth General Assembly, 1908, p. 274.

[148] Ibid., Thirty-Sixth General Assembly, 1910, pp. 286-287.

[149] Presbyterian Record, July, 1914, pp. 304-305.

[150] Presbyterian Record, July, 1914, p. 305.

[151] G. A. Warburton, Report of Social Survey Commission of Toronto, 1915, pp. 50-51.

[152] Canadian Churchman, July 15, 1915, p. 447.

[153] Presbyterian Record, July, 1914, p. 304.

Chapter 3 (continued)

[154] Ibid., January, 1916, p. 14.

[155] Clark, *Church and Sect*, p. 431.

[156] *APAP*, Twenty-Seventh General Assembly, 1901, p. 245.

[157] Board of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church and the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church, *Vancouver, British Columbia. The Report of a Brief Investigation of Social Conditions in the City which Indicate the Need of an Intensive Social Survey, the Lines of Which are Herein Suggested*, nd (circa 1913), p. 10.

[158] R. G. MacBeth, *Our Task in Canada* (Toronto: The Westminster Co., for the Home Missions Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1912), p. 9.

[159] *Canadian Churchman*, February 26, 1920, p. 136.

[160] *The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, September 1, 1913, p. 204.

[161] Ibid.

[162] *Canadian Churchman*, February 26, 1920, p. 137.

[163] Ibid., August 24, 1922, p. 546.

[164] W. H. Smith, "Social Service as an Ethical Ideal," *CJRT*, Vol. V, No. 3, May - June, 1928, pp. 222-223.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Clark, *Church and Sect*, p. 431.

Chapter 4

[1] There is obviously a distinction to be made between the Sabbath and the Lord's Day or Sunday, and for several other religions, the Sabbath does not fall on Sunday. For some of the distinction, see *The Encyclopedia of Sunday Schools and Religious Education* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1915), "The Sabbath as a Day of Rest and Worship," pp. 940-941. Provision for those whose Sabbath falls not on Sunday was also made in the *Lord's Day Act*.

Chapter 4 (continued)

[2] APAP, Twenty-First General Assembly, 1895, Appendix No. 22, p. ii.

[3] Ibid., Twentieth General Assembly, 1894, Appendix No. 22, p. ii.

[4] The large attendance of Torontonians in church contributed to the maxim, "Toronto the Good," which no doubt it rightfully deserved. Methodist Magazine and Review, June, 1897, p. 573.

[5] Canadian Churchman, October 16, 1902, p. 660.

[6] Ibid.

[7] APAP, Twenty-Ninth General Assembly, 1903, p. 324.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] APAP, Twenty-First General Assembly, 1895, Appendix No. 22, p. i.

[11] Ibid., p. ii.

[12] Ibid., Thirty-First General Assembly, 1905, p. 239.

[13] Ibid.

[14] APAP, Thirty-Fourth General Assembly, 1908, p. 248.

[15] Silcox, Church Union, p. 89.

[16] Presbyterian Record, March, 1902, p. 131.

[17] A. M. C. Waterman, "The Lord's Day in a Secular Society: A Historical Comment on the Canadian Lord's Day Act of 1906," Canadian Journal of Theology, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1965, p. 112. Waterman, quoting the Lord's Day Advocate claimed the Alliance had its beginning as late as 1895. See page 112.

[18] DTPR, Eleventh Annual Report, 1913, p. 60.

[19] Presbyterian Record, March, 1902, p. 132.

[20] Ibid., August, 1916, p. 347.

Chapter 4 (continued)

[21] Carl Wittke, A History of Canada (5th ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1941), p. 292.

[22] Lord's Day Advocate, November, 1921, p. 13.

[23] Ibid., September, 1922, p. 14.

[24] Minutes of Conference, 1922, p. 5.

[25] Canadian Churchman, April 17, 1924, p. 252.

[26] Christie, "Presbyterian," pp. 260-261. Quoted from APAP, 1907, p. 252.

[27] Ibid., p. 264.

[28] The period 1918 - 1925 is especially filled with accounts of the preparation and decision respecting the Lord's Day Act of Canada and the Province's right to interpret and administer it and its own legislation as well. See, for instance, but two examples, the important Court of Appeal of Manitoba, Lord's Day Advocate, July, 1923, pp. 2-7; and the Privy Council's Decision regarding the Manitoba Sunday Excursion Act, Canadian Churchman, February 5, 1925, p. 81.

[29] Presbyterian Record, October, 1923, p. 40.

[30] Waterman, "Lord's Day," p. 108.

[31] Barker, "United Church," pp. 106-107.

[32] Speer, A Young Man, p. 77.

[33] Canadian Churchman, June 6, 1901, p. 363.

[34] Alexander Sutherland, The Kingdom of God and Problems of Today (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), pp. 103-104.

[35] Ibid., p. 104.

[36] APAP, Thirty-First General Assembly, 1905, p. 339.

[37] Ibid., p. 340.

[38] Ibid., Thirty-Fifth General Assembly, 1909, p. 339.

[39] Presbyterian Record, May, 1909, p. 69.

[40] APAP, Thirty-Ninth General Assembly, 1913, p. 301.

Chapter 4 (continued)

[41] Ibid., pp. 301-302.

[42] Presbyterian Record, February, 1913, p. 73.

[43] Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[44] Ibid., p. 75.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., January, 1920, p. 20.

[47] Ibid., September, 1914, p. 409.

[48] Cox explained the amusing background of this decision. See A. E. Cox, "Sport in Canada, 1868 - 1900" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969), p. 134.

[49] Presbyterian Record, September, 1914, p. 408.

[50] Ibid., p. 409.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Canadian Churchman, March 29, 1917, p. 199.

[54] Ibid., p. 203.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Lord's Day Advocate, March, 1922, p. 13.

[57] Quoted in the Lord's Day Advocate, July, 1923, p. 9.

[58] Lord's Day Advocate, July, 1923, pp. 9-10.

[59] DESS, Nineteenth Annual Report, 1921, p. 96.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Canadian Churchman, June 30, 1904, p. 405.

[62] Ibid., July 14, 1910, p. 440.

[63] Charles H. Huestis, Sunday in the Making (New York: Abingdom Press, 1929), p. 232.

Chapter 4 (continued)

[64] Huestis, Sunday in the Making, pp. 233-235.

[65] Ibid., pp. 240-241. Huestis referred extensively to Henry F. Cope's, Religious Education of the Family.

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